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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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## Managing Editor

EDMOND S. MEANY

VOL. I No. 1

OCTOBER, 1906

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

UNIVERSITY STATION  
SEATTLE, U. S. A.

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To establish and maintain a society for the collection and preservation of historical facts and records; to gather and preserve memorials of the pioneers and early settlers of the Territory and State of Washington; to purchase, own, hold, enclose, maintain and mark the places of historical interest within this State by suitable and appropriate monuments, tablets and enclosures; to promote and engage in historical research relating to the Indians and Indian tribes; to engage in, carry on and promote historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary and scientific researches, and to publish the results of the same; to collect, collate, bind and put in convenient form for use and preservation the papers, documents, materials and records collected by the society; to publish, provide for and superintend the publication and distribution of, any papers, manuscripts, documents and records collected by the society; to establish and maintain a library; to encourage and promote the study of history, and especially of the history of the Territory and State of Washington, at the University of Washington; to act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping; to purchase or construct a suitable building for safely housing and preserving the historical and other records belonging to the society or committed to its care, and for its use and accommodation in all other respects; to receive, accept and fully acquire by purchase, lease, gift, or otherwise, lands, tenements and hereditaments, and all such personal property as it may deem desirable for its interests, including stocks in other corporations, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages, bills receivable and choses in action, and to sell and dispose of the same (except that the papers, books, documents, historical and other records belonging to the society, shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of, but duplicates or superfluous copies thereof may be exchanged or otherwise disposed of); to borrow money and to make and deliver its promissory notes or other agreements to pay money, and to issue and sell its negotiable bonds and secure the same by making, executing and delivering mortgages and deeds of trust of its real property, or any thereof, for the payment or performance of all notes, bonds, contracts and other obligations which it may at any time make or incur; and to do each and every act and thing whatsoever which may at any time be or become necessary, convenient and advisable for it to

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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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## WASHINGTON NOMENCLATURE.

### A Study.

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The geographical names in the United States are derived from two great sources: Indian and European. Among the first explorers and settlers the former dominated; with the second generation of colonists the European names began to dominate. These early colonists looked to their European homes and personages for Plymouth, Boston, Albemarle, St. Mary's, Ft. Christina, New Rochelle, New Orleans, St. Louis, Santa Fe; or else from their own languages derived names indicative of local conditions or feelings: Providence, Philadelphia. When these settlements themselves began to send off scions to the upper waters of the Atlantic streams or into the transallegHENY country, new names were taken from a variety of sources; from the old European places and personages, from Greece, Rome, or from classical compositions, e. g. Louisville, Athens, Rome, Oxford, Gallipolis. The Indian names were taken from the local Indian designations, and today stand as monuments to the natives' haunts and homes and as milestones to their westward movement before the coming white man. As the white man came his names told of the fond recollections of his distant home; but as he penetrated the wilderness and the mountains, these recollections dim and finally fade, to be replaced from the new native home in the old Atlantic colonies. Yet the names scattered from the Alleghenies to the Pacific by the constant stream of colonizing immigrants tell of the nomenclatural geneology; the Swede, Italian and German, the Russian, Dutch and Pole, even in our own days repeat the christening of the cavalier and Puritan.

The great bulk of the earlier and elemental names of the United States is derived, aside from the Indian, from those Euro-

pean natives first settling on the Atlantic coast: England, Spain, France, Holland and Sweden. The distribution of these names, according to nationalities, varies with different parts of the country. The New England states lead in number with six, mixing with the Indian the names from Holland, Sweden, England, France, and the later America; the south Atlantic states and the Pacific Northwest both have five: Indian, English, American, Spanish and French. The central states find four in the Indian, English, American and French. Like the Indians, in their westward and reservation movement, most of the European names in turn have been superseded by the newer American, and the scattered immigrant.

In the Pacific Northwest—composed for historical purposes of Oregon, Washington and Idaho—Washington is the most representative of them all. She has practically as many Indian and American names, and more English, Spanish and French names than either of the other two states. Oregon has a few Spanish names; Idaho has none; both Oregon and Idaho have a few French terms. Owing to the presence and activity of the Hudson's Bay Company, Washington has more designations of English and Indian sources due to the Englishmen than either of the other states. Indian names are well scattered through them all; while both Indian and American, in their proportion in the three states, depend upon the demand for names by the increasing population.

Washington is still a coast and river state. Excepting the broad plains about the head of the Cowlitz, Chehalis and Puyallup rivers, and about the Palouse and Spokane, the pioneer has as yet but scattered settlements in the interior. On the Sound and Grays Harbor, on the Columbia and its numberless branches Washington's population still resides. It must be noted, however, that the railway, penetrating the territory inaccessible by steamers, has expanded the settled lands, especially east of the mountains, and widened the country about the few centers heretofore drained by the trails and packroads. It is along the shores and river banks that the elemental nomenclature of Washington must be studied; on the trail and the railroad the settler is planting new American and immigrant names, or those derived from the aborigines.

The Indian, in naming rivers or parts of rivers, mountains, falls, villages and burial places, has scattered his names for the white man fairly regularly on both sides of the Cascades, yet

with an evident majority on the side of the west. Today<sup>1</sup> the east has 124 Indian names, the west 175; the former being 11 per cent. of the whole list of names from all sources, the latter 13 per cent. In 1891<sup>2</sup> the number was somewhat less: 111 east and 116 west of the Cascades, with a result that of the sum total of names from all sources the east had 23 per cent. and the west but 19 per cent. The difference in these two readings seems to be due to two reasons. The Century Atlas of 1891 is no doubt incomplete, even though it is a representative map of the state and as accurate as any accessible map of that date. Again, in the settlement of new locations in the last decade and a half, the Indian names are frequently retained.

It is interesting to note the peculiar way in which the names of the passing race have been retained by the white man. The Lower Sound counties—composed of the Sound-bordering counties northward to Snohomish and Island inclusive, and those counties on the Strait—have a majority of 96—23 more than the nearest competitive section. Here is where the white man first made his home and first met the Indian as the possessor of the soil: Here is Tumwater, Nisqually, Alki Point, Seattle, Steilacoom, Puyallup, Chehalis; the Cowlitz, the Snohomish, the Skokomish, the Dwamish, the Skukum Chuck. In this same section the Indian played his principal part west of the mountains, and defined the historical geography of the Indian wars of the fifties. This but reiterates the truth, true the country over, that the Indian—in names—had his greatest influence, where he had influence at all, either in the first decade of the pioneering or, which is rather evident in the Western states, in the period stretching from the settlement to the first boom. As second stands the district composed of those counties between the Columbia river and the Cascades. The Yakima valley, the rivers entering the Columbia from the mountains and those flowing from their sources in British Columbia, give the great majority of these names. As third stand the southwest counties—those bordering on the Pacific and the Columbia west of the Cascades; as fourth, the Upper Sound—composed of Skagit, Whatcom and San Juan counties; as fifth, the counties between the Columbia, the Snake and the Idaho line. As last, with 20, the southeastern counties between the Snake, and the Idaho and Oregon lines.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rand-McNally, Map of Washington, 1905. The figures are given in round numbers.

<sup>2</sup> Century Atlas, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> The Lower Sound, 96; the Cascade-Columbia, 73; the southwest, 44; the Upper Sound, 35; the eastern, 31; the southeast, 20.



In the distribution of the English-American names, the Lower Sound again vastly dominates; then the eastern, centering around Spokane and the Palouse country. Then the territory in the Yakima valley and along the right bank of the Columbia; followed by the southwest. The Upper Sound has almost twice as many as the counties in the opposite corner of the state.<sup>1</sup>

No Spanish name is found east of the mountains. All but one of the fifteen Spanish names in the state are found in the Upper Sound country; and the single exception in the Lower Sound. With the French names it stands differently, in that of the 24 found on the map of 1905, 22 are east of the mountains and the other two in the Lower Sound territory. East of the Cascades 11 are located in the eastern division; 10 in the Columbia-Cascade lands, especially in the Okanogan country, and one in the southeast. There seems to be no Russian reliques of nomenclature in the state. The early attempt of 1806 to settle on the Columbia was defeated by the breakers on the bar at the mouth of the river; the successful settlement on Bodega Bay was too far south to effect the Pacific Northwest in other way than through the Monroe Doctrine; and the fur traders' activity in its southern course was stayed by the treaties with America and England in 1824 and 1825, wherein a limitation was placed at 54° 40'.

The manner and the periods in which these names came into existence varies with the peoples giving them origin. The Indian, as the 'original inhabitant, gave to favorite places many names which the explorer, the trader and the settler retained. Among the whites the names find their origin in three great sources: The explorer, the trader and the settler. Galiano and Valdez, Meares and Vancouver, Lewis and Clark, Gray and Wilkes left the earliest and most abiding names along the Straits, in the Upper and Lower Sounds, along the Coast and the Columbia. The fur trader of the old Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company either gave new names or gave permanence to the native designations. Especially is their activity seen between the Sound and the Columbia, and along the latter, naming the posts, factories, rivers and lakes. Their names follow the hunters' and trappers' trails, radiating in all directions and connecting with the central factory on the shores of Hudson's Bay. In the service of the Hudson's Bay Company were the French-Can-

<sup>1</sup> The Lower Sound, 631; the eastern, 443; the Columbia-Cascade, 359; the southwest, 297; the Upper Sound, 215; the southeast, 110.



dians, who, as voyageurs, mingled freely with the Indians. He blended his own tongue with the Chinook about the lower banks of the Columbia, and left his name at The Dalles, on the Sans Poil river, with the Coeur d'Alene Indians, and their spelling in the Wallamette and the Coudenais. The settler succeeded the trapper and trader; he continued and increased the list of names of the Indian, explorer and hunter, and with his natural increase in population and expansion our territory has found demand for new names. These he has supplied by drawing upon his memory of his old home, his own experiences, or his impressions of local features.

It may seem that the missionary has been unjustly omitted. The missionary, in Washington as well as in the whole Pacific Northwest, has been so closely bound up with his activity as settler that in the question of nomenclature he loses his identity in the latter. Where he located at Waiilatpu, Chimikane and Nisqually he accepts the names of the natives or of his forerunners, the Hudson's Bay Company men. Scarcely has he turned the soil as settler, and as missionary taught the natives to repeat the Lord's Prayer, than he is driven from his cabin-home by Indian outbreaks or is discouraged by Indian indifference; ere he returns to resume his work the settler, per se, is on his trail. The missionary then becomes the pastor of the settlers' church, the "sky-pilot" of the ranges, or the missionary-chaplain on the reservations. The age of transition through the missionary from the trader to the settler is short, indeed; and shorter on the Sound than east of the mountains.

## I.

**Indian Names.** The native names as they are now found in the state came into origin by either of two ways. Where the Indian had names for definite places, mountains, rivers, etc., the white man, in the person of the early settler and trader, was content to retain the native terminology.<sup>1</sup> But the white man was not content with the localization of the Indian; his culture demanded more generic terms, names for whole river courses rather than parts, whole bodies of waters rather than villages on their shores, for new towns and sections rather than the tribal village and range. To supply these needs he frequently drew from the tribes

<sup>1</sup> Whatcom Creek and Lake; Puyallup, Walla Walla; Cowlitz, Palouse; Spokane, Okanogan; and Nooksack, rivers; Orcas Island.

near at hand or applied a name according to his own usage. In this way the early explorers named Tatouche and Neah bay; the early trader and the Hudson's Bay Company designated Ft. Okanogan and Spokane House in the north; Ft. Walla Walla; the Cowlitz Farm, not far distant from Ft. Nisqually. Where the traders in the forties ended their work, the early settlers began in the fifties. The towns of Chehalis, Seattle, Whatcom, Tacoma, Walla Walla arose; counties were christened Snohomish, Spokane, Skagit, Kitsap, Wakiakum; and a section named The Palouse. The missionary, in his zeal for the Indian, did not disturb the native ear with foreign names, but baptized his missions Wailaptu and Chimikane. These four—the explorer, the trader, the settler and the missionary—have given new meaning to the native terms. The Indians' rivers, mountains, and a few villages, have been supplemented by the white man's cities, counties and sections.

**English Names.** Captain Cook, two years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, christened the first English name found within the State of Washington. Cape Flattery, the name he used to designate that hazy and indistinct point of land where he thought he had found the Fucan Straits, as the first born of English names, has become permanent. Meares left Cape Shoalwater, Shoalwater Bay, Cape Disappointment, Mt. Olympus, etc. But the early explorer, Vancouver, was the most prolific of names. He made use of ten of the designations of his predecessors; he retained the "Columbia" as the American term for the Oregon. Five Indian and three Spanish names find places within his volumes; but when he entered the Straits and coasted the shores of his "Gulph of Georgia," which so often reminded him of his English home, he lavished sixty-eight names upon its waters, points, bays and mountains. Baker and Rainier, near Hood's Canal, and Bellingham Bay, stand as monuments over Vashon Island and Gray's Harbor. After these explorers the Hudson's Bay Company and its men scattered a few English names among their greater number of Indian origin. Vancouver, on the Columbia, seems to be the only name within the present State of Washington that is left of that long list stretching from Ft. George on the Pacific to Ft. Nelson on Hudson's Bay; and Franchere's name, the Great Basin of the Columbia, too, has passed away.

**American Names.** Gray, in the year of the inauguration of Washington, was the first American on the Northwest coast, as

well as the first to unfurl the national flag to all the breezes around the globe. After the ship, the **Columbia**, was named the River of the West, the Oregon of Carver and Bryant; and the southern point of its mouth, Point Adams, still bears witness to his few days' sojourn in Baker's Bay. His name, Bulfinch, for that harbor, which the English named Gray's in his honor, is found on but a few of the early maps. Lewis and Clark were profuse in names, but most of them were the designations of the Indians. Lewis river has disappeared; Clark's river is still sometimes used; and even of the Indian names he used, it seems that Chinook river is the only one on his map that finds a place on the more modern atlas. The Wilkes' expedition, in its careful examination, used the terms so familiar to the Indian and trader.<sup>1</sup> Yet within the state limits the nine places which he named still bear his designations. The American traders, in their westward course from St. Louis to the upper Columbia and the territory to its south, were unable to compete with the old Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies. Within the lands north of the River of the West they have not left a single name to mark their presence. The American settler, however, more than retrieved the ill-showing of the trapper. From Smithfield, now lost, to the latest name of Benton of the newly-created county, he has generously named after himself, places, people and local conditions, the mills, rivers, and lakes where he erected his cabin, and the visionary sites of boom towns.

**Spanish Names.** These names were left for the most part by the early explorers themselves within the present limits of Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The latter, however, was named by the Englishman, Meares, after the legendary Greek who sailed for Spain. The American has given the name of San Juan to a county, and in some instances has transferred some of the Spanish names to other places.

**French Names.** No names mark the presence of La Perouse, Marchand or Saint Amand. It was the voyageur from French Canada in the services of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies who named The Dalles, the Petit Dalles, the Nez Perce, the Coeur d'Alene, the Pend d'Oreille, the Sans Poil.

## II.

The substitution of names occurred with frequency among the explorers and traders; only occasionally since the advent of

<sup>1</sup> Within Washington 71 English names were retained; four of American origin; four of Spanish; and eight of French.

the settler has this taken place. English-American Mount Baker has succeeded Kulshan; Rainier, Tacoma; Bellingham, Whatcom; and Columbia has usurped both the Oregon of Carver and the Tacoutche Tessé of the Washington-Oregon tribes. Even the English-American form of Indian names has taken the place of the original: Tahoma is now Tacoma; 'Isqually became Nisqually; Chi 'Keeles, Chehalis; and Wainape and Pischous are but slightly recognizable in Wenatchee. But, on the other hand, Orcas has persisted over Hull; Lewis has gone before the Shoshone, or rather its translation, the Snake; and the local pride of Tacoma encourages the passing of Rainier for the original name. English names have also been at war with the Spanish, and in some instances have been victorious. Bellingham Bay has overcome Sino del Gaston; Mount Baker, Montana del Carmel; Vancouver, Quadra and Vancouver's Island. The Americans have been busy with the English names. Oregon has succeeded New Georgia; Commencement Bay took the place of Puget Sound when it was raised by the Americans to the place occupied by the English Gulphe of Georgia. On the other hand, the Americans failed to make Bulfinch permanent on Gray's Harbor.

### III.

Spelling, and in some instances pronunciation, have undergone changes, often quite a struggle, before the present forms were adopted. The dropping of the "s" as possessives is quite evident in the middle of the century, excepting where it has been retained for the sake of euphony. One now reads and hears Puget Sound; yet on the other hand, Gray's Harbor. Spokane of today was written Spokan by Simpson, Greenhow and Franchere, and Spokein by Parker. The present Palouse Wilkes wrote Peluse, and Simpson, Paaylops. Walla Walla was written Wallawalla by Franchere, Simpson and Wilkes; Wallahwallah by Bonneville; and Walla Walla by Greenhow. Okanogan Greenhow finds to be Okinagan; Simpson and Nicolet, Okanagan; and Ross, Oakinacken. The Cowlitz is read Cowalitz by Parker, Cowelitz by Ross and Greenhow, and by Franchere both Cowlitzk and Cowlikt. Nisqually became with Greenhow Nasqually; 'Squally—but Ft. Nisqually—with Simpson; and Nosqually with Ross. Chehalis is written Checayles by Simpson, Chekelis by Greenhow; Chickeeles by Wilkes, and Tschikeyles by Franchere.

Among the Spanish names Haro is sometimes written Aro; and Comaño no longer bears its native marking.

In pronunciation some of the changes follow the spelling. In the case of Chehalis, with its peculiar guttural "Chi," it has been simplified in both. 'Squally was changed in speech by the Hudson's Bay Company. Sealth in the white man's mouth became Seattle, and Tahoma became Tacoma. The old Spanish names of Lopez, Comaño, Rosario, have all been Americanized in speech. The greatest change, perhaps, is in the name of the united names of Whatcom and Fairhaven; Bellingham in England drops the "h," shortens the "a" and accents the ante-penult, while in the English town of Bellingham and the old family of that name it becomes Bellingjem, accented in the usual English way.

#### IV.

Some names have taken on a new meaning, either increasing or decreasing their range. Bellingham Bay was enlarged to include the older Spanish Sino del Gaston; Puget Sound, since the forties, designates the whole Sound. The Gulphe of Georgia, as defined by Vancouver, has become the small body of water north of the San Juan Islands. Upper and Lower Sound have changed places so that they now follow the cardinal points of north and south as located on the map. The old Northwest has become the Pacific Northwest, and this shrinks gradually in meaning to the State of Washington and then to Whatcom county. Old Oregon became the state of that name. East and west of the mountains are now fixed terms, synonymous in part with the Sound country and the Inland Empire.

It is to be hoped that in the future numbers of this magazine an extensive study of this subject may be made, and these few observations from a few of the sources may be corroborated or corrected.

J. N. BOWMAN.

June 28, 1906.



## PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC.\*

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The event which we celebrate today was only an incident in the life of the distinguished man whose name this monument will bear through future ages, but looked at in the perspective of history it assumes a significance worthy of the consideration of every thoughtful American. When in 1841 Captain Wilkes with his fleet was exploring the Pacific ocean and this coast of North America, the ocean upon which he sailed was almost an unknown sea. It was an ocean of mystery, of unfathomed vastness, of a peace which was the peace of stagnation. Its value to the world was undiscovered, and its meaning lay wholly in the future. Since that first celebration of the Fourth of July upon the Pacific coast this ocean has acquired a meaning and a value scarcely dreamed of at that time. That it is destined to play an ever greater part in the drama of human life I firmly believe, and instead of discussing the topic which I learned only yesterday had been assigned me, "The Patriotism of the Washington Pioneers," I propose to discuss what seemed to me most significant of the day when first the brief invitation of your committee came to me by telegraph, namely the "World Problems of the Pacific"—its place in the future and the relations of the United States to it.

In the life of the nations since Captain Wilkes' voyage, three great developments stand out conspicuously; the first was the birth of the new Japan so-called, the emergence of the Empire of Nippon into a world power. Not until fifteen years after Wilkes' voyage did another great representative of the American navy, Commodore Perry, open the gates of Japan to the world's civilization. Trained for 5,000 years into an isolation such as the world has never known, Japan had shut herself in against contact with foreign powers, and by law visited with death the Japanese subject who left her shores and the foreigner who landed upon them. You are all familiar with the marvel of the new Japan. They say that grains of wheat buried in mummy cases of Rameses II. and lying dormant for 4,000 years will, when brought to the light of today and properly nourished, germinate and bring forth their destined harvest. So Japan,

\* Address at the Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake, July 5, 1906.



buried in an equal aloofness from the world, has come forth as from the tomb and blossomed into an unexpected life of power and promise to the world. As at the beginning of the last century the United States, making its steady way westward, reached at last the Pacific on its eastern shore through Lewis and Clark, and brought the light of Christian civilization across the mountains to the misty sea, so at the end of the century the western shores of the great Pacific were illuminated with the light of the new Japan, and a century of progress showed that the portentous and gloom-enshrouded sea had light upon its eastern and its western coasts. An empire of forty million had won the respect and fear of the western world by its swift progress in the arts and sciences, and by its successful grapple with one of the great world powers of the west.

And now at the beginning of another century another and still greater Oriental nation is waking from its sleep. The Chinese empire, whose antiquity is even greater than that of Japan, is fast arousing from its age-long lethargy, and 400,000,000 of people are threatening the world with their potential power and potential needs. I think that we must pause for thought when we reflect how this great sea is being opened to a new world life. The war between China and Japan in 1898 was the galvanic touch of a living hand upon an apparent corpse, and since then China has been stretching itself with signs of real strength. To be sure, it was in 1842, the year after Captain Wilkes' visit to this spot, that Great Britain first battered at the door of China by the opium war, and secured permission by imperial edict that thereafter foreigners might reside in Shanghai, but though year after year more foreigners on business bent have invaded the Chinese empire, and more treaty ports have been opened to them, yet it is true that still China is largely a closed land and its life remote from Western thought. Such at any rate it has been until within the last few years, but now her great walls are crumbling into eternal uselessness and the nation is stretching out its hands for the gifts of the West. Foreign armies have marched upon its soil, foreign cannon have battered at its portals, foreign railroads and telegraphs and telephones have penetrated its domain. Christianity with the open Bible in one hand and the merciful ministrations of the medical physician has softened Chinese hostility to Western learning, and has brought the dawn of a new day into the gloom of a world-old empire.

And if the resurrection of Japan has brought into the arena

of the nations a great world power whose prowess and capacity are already honored, how much greater the future honor and influence of the far greater empire, China, now coming to the front. I remind you not only of her 400,000,000 of people as compared with Japan's 40,000,000, but of her vast area of fertile lands and treasure-laden mountains. We pride ourselves upon the fertility of the Mississippi valley and the wheat lands of the West, but China has a greater productive area whose fertility is not less, and has besides in coal and iron, in gold and silver and all the precious metals incalculable resources which European experts say are unequaled elsewhere in the world. If you are of those who believe that resources and commercial shrewdness make a nation great, and that the progress of the United States is to be explained in terms like these, then you will herald as greatest of the nations the future China, with its illimitable resources and its long-trained business ability. It seems to me that the awakening of these two Oriental powers, Japan and China, is to change the fate of the world, and to alter the complexion of human history. Heretofore the Mediterranean and Atlantic have been the sites of the world's conflicts and the world's trade; hereafter the Pacific will wrest supremacy from the Atlantic, and the ocean which has been peaceful in its loneliness will become busy with the commerce of the world.

It is significant that the three great wars of the past ten years have been fought in the main upon the Pacific, and Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila, Japan's victory over China on the Yellow sea, and the overwhelming victory of Japan over Russia within recent years have stained with blood the waters of this peaceful ocean in prediction of future conflicts which shall mar its surface, conflicts, let us hope, of peace and not war. These two Oriental nations stand side by side on the western shore of the Pacific, animated with a common life, common religion or lack of it, and a blood relationship which manifests itself in the deeper psychological resemblances which make Japan and China one at heart. If the past forty years have given Japan an apparent leadership and impressed her people with a quickness and versatility which justify their being called the "French of the Orient," nevertheless China has no less capacity, and as the best observers think, a deeper moral earnestness, a stronger fiber of character, an indomitableness which will make her influence upon the world's life greater, perhaps, than that of Japan. In these two awakened nations we see the spirit of the Orient first claim-

ing a part in the world's life and demanding a share of the world's responsibilities. A new era in human history has begun. Heretofore Asia has been a passive continent, self-sufficient, isolated, remote; now Asia is meeting Europe and America with a youthfulness of energy to be explained perhaps by her sleep of centuries, and hereafter the world forces which must be reckoned with will be not England, France, Germany, Russia and the United States, but Japan and China as well. One in spirit as in blood, greedy for new life, but insistent upon new justice and no longer content to sit passive under the contempt of the Western world. The Orient has taken its place as a world power, and it seems to me that the twentieth century is teeming with portent when in its first decade the giant powers of China and Japan launch their fleets upon the western shores of the Pacific and invade the domain of the world's commerce and the world's life.

But I had said that there were three developments since 1841 in the world's life as affecting the Pacific. The third is no less momentous. It is the birth of a national consciousness in the United States, with the assumption of national responsibilities. The West has had much to do with this. The conquest of the Pacific coast has enlarged the national horizon and the problems of the Pacific have penetrated the nation's mind. When at Manila Commodore Dewey raised the flag of the United States upon the Philippine islands, America unwittingly and unwillingly entered upon a new epoch, the epoch of international relations and a part in the world's life. The first century of our national existence had been one of isolation; our aim had been self-development; our problems were the problems of the interior. Despite the glorious achievements of our navy, the United States had not claimed to be a world power, but thought that she could live her life alone, untroubled by European politics, unfettered by alliances with other nations. We had developed a national self-consciousness, which was self-satisfied and self-admiring, and now, against our will, in large degree, and by a sudden change of events, which makes it look as though it were a matter of destiny, of divine over-ordering, we are brought into sudden relations with the nations of the world and compelled to take our place in the lists with them. Our enlarging manufactures have made us seek for foreign markets. Our industrial supremacy developed by a hundred years of isolation has itself compelled us to abandon our national policy of exclusion, and at the beginning of the twentieth century we are standing facing

the Pacific ocean, no longer with the mere sense of national self-sufficiency and our national bigness, but with the troubled conviction that a new age has come and that we must struggle with the nations of the world for the supremacy which we have been idly hoping was to be ours by divine decree.

Of the commercial and industrial greatness of America I need not speak. We lead the world in manufactures, in railroads, in the application of science to the needs of human life, in the productivity of our fields and the richness of our forests. In wealth, which is potential greatness, we stand unrivaled. The per capita riches of our inhabitants exceed those of any other nation upon earth. And yet here is where I would bid you pause to consider whether America is ready to take her part in the world's life. In the developments of the future not wealth alone will count, though there will be a long struggle for industrial supremacy and our merchants will need to set their wits and skill against the skill and wits of Germany and England and Japan, yet in the long run other features will enter into the contest, and it is of these which I would remind you. Who shall be entitled to the leadership of the West against the growing power of the Orient? Who shall be worthy of the hegemony of the nations facing the imminent peril of a militant orientalism? Shall the conflict between the West and the East, which is to be waged, I believe, upon the Pacific, brought 10,000 miles closer to Europe by the opening of the Panama canal, be a conflict of antagonism or a conflict of peace? It seems to be that the question must be settled in large measure by the attitude of the United States toward China and Japan.

If, in the recklessness of selfish power, with the advantage of position which possession of the Hawaiian islands and the Philippine islands now gives us, we rush at the East in the lust of new riches and careless of our nation's honor and our Christian name, then the Pacific ocean will cease to bear that name worthily, but will be stained, if not with the blood of battle, yet with the blackness of dishonor. In her new-found sense of international responsibility, I would charge America that she remember first of all that justice and judgment are the foundations of an unending existence, and that in the spirit of fairness, of open-heartedness, of brotherly kindness, she must meet the new nations, China and Japan. We of the Pacific coast have not hidden our intolerance and contempt of these yellow-skinned Asiatics. If Japan has compelled our admiration, we have all the more dis-



played our narrow and unphilosophical contempt for the patient and unresisting China.

We are confronted by the problems of the Pacific, and the powers of the Pacific, China and Japan, are met before us face to face. If we wish to enter worthily into the world's life, if we wish to be worthy of leadership in the new relations between the Occident and Orient then we shall be obliged to abandon the self-conceited and intolerant contempt, unjust, disdainful, cruel, with which we have regarded heretofore the oldest of the nations of the world. And if as merchant princes we wish to win the riches which China has for the world, if we desire our share in the commerce of the future, which in scarce imagined measure is to fill the coffers of the world as China's four hundred millions demand their part of the world's produce, and open an unimagined market for the world's manufactures, if American ships under the American flag are to carry American lumber and manufactures to the great markets of the new China, then we must disavow the mental attitude of the past, we must recognize the Chinaman as of the same blood as ourselves. The spirit of the Declaration of Independence, which we say that we celebrate today, must enter more deeply into our national conscience, and we as a nation come to believe that in reality and not in pretense all men are created free and equal.

But if the United States thinks that it can meet England and Germany in the markets of China and win Chinese friendship and Chinese trade while still our heart is bitter with contempt, and our shores are barred in manifest hostility to every Chinaman, merchant, or traveler or student, then we might as well recognize the fact that the new markets, which are our present great commercial need, will be closed to us forever, and the Panama canal will be a pathway not for American ships sailing from New York, and Philadelphia and Baltimore for Shanghai and Hongkong, but rather a pathway for ships of other European nations, which by justness and fairness and brotherly kindness shall win the friendship and open the markets of that proud and ill-understood people.

We commemorate today the first celebration of the Fourth of July upon the Pacific coast. How rapidly in these sixty-five years since then has the Pacific ocean developed in its relation to the world's life! How portentous these new nations loom upon the earth's horizon! How weighty the problems of international responsibility which burden our national consciousness

as we look westward across the Pacific, and feel the impending duty. And yet the spirit of the Declaration is what we need; nay, more, back of the spirit of the Declaration that spirit which was in the minds of the founders of our nation, the spirit not only of freedom for all but of justice to all. And back of that, the Christian spirit of brotherhood for all mankind, without which no nation shall forever endure. The moral character of the United States is then the chief consideration which I would leave with you at this time. If in the spirit of justice and tolerance, in the spirit of the "square deal" and the brotherly right hand, we go forward to our new tasks, this celebration in 1841 will not have been in vain, and the great ocean which it ennobled will continue to bear fittingly the name Pacific.

STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE.



## JASON LEE'S PLACE IN HISTORY.\*

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That faith which foresees and believes and is the prophecy of all things, was the inspiration of the Oregon missions and the creative power of the growth of our great states of the Pacific Northwest.

The history of the origin of each of our states lies in the biography and character of the few who were first actors in the history. It is a record, therefore, of the individual lives of men and women rather than of great events. Such were the opening scenes of the history of Oregon.

I refer now, not to the first discoveries and explorations, but to the conditions that started the permanent settlement and began the continuous social and political life of Oregon. But when we are able to take up the history of a commonwealth from its very beginning, and in particular when that beginning was in smallest things, of recent development, almost wholly under our own eyes, there is obvious advantage. We are able to see clearly, assign the founders to their proper places and to accord them severally their meed of fame.

There is something unsatisfactory in beginning a history with the mature state of a country. As in biography, so in history, we desire to go back to the cradle and see the growth of social and political life from the first small beginnings. There is, moreover, not a little difficulty in finding a later moment which will afford a real starting point. In a mature state each condition is the result of what went before, and the human mind feels compelled to seek causes for this as for every other effect.

The absence of written documents in the early ages obliges us to form all our ideas of primitive history from oral traditions, handed down from generation to generation. These become more or less changed by lapse of time and are accompanied with superstition and a belief in the miraculous intervention of the divinity—a doctrine which it enhances while it envelops the pride of a people with a halo of glory.

But we have for the origins of the history of Oregon abundance of written and printed contemporary material; and we

\* Address at the Memorial Service in honor of the Methodist missionary, held at Salem, Friday, June 15.

know, therefore, we are on the sure and solid ground of historical truth. Here, however, are disadvantages, because there is little room for play of the imagination. The poetry is lost.

One who stands as an actor on the threshold of such a new movement has great advantage in this, that though his labors may be arduous, he has a chance, a certainty almost, of reaching a place in the memory of posterity. And after all, fame is something, and it is something to win even remembrance among men. Though a great poet declares the desire of fame "the last infirmity of the noble mind," yet the desire is one that justifies itself in the lives of men, and even at the bar of human history. For none would live without notice or praise, if he could gain it, nor pass to the infinite unknown leaving no mention or memorials of his name.

I am not now intending to give a sketch of the early history of Oregon, but shall attempt some account of estimate of one of the leading actors in it, incidentally only referring to others. I avoid claims made for one and another, and all controversy as to who "saved Oregon;" for in my conception Oregon was secured to the United States by a train of events in which numerous persons were important actors. Nevertheless, I must give chief credit for our beginning as an American state to the missionary effort, of which Jason Lee was the protagonist.

Attempts were made prior to the coming of Jason Lee, but they were failures. I need not speak of Astor's unsuccessful undertaking; nor of the failure of succeeding adventurers, Wyeth and Bonneville, whose enterprises were those of traders; nor of the attempted colonization by Hall J. Kelley, which ended even more disastrously. It was not until the American missionaries entered and possessed the country neither as traders nor as secular colonizers, though in reality willing to become both, that a foothold was gained for the occupation of Oregon by American settlers. With exception of Felix Hathaway, who had come by ship in 1829, of Solomon Smith, of Clatsop, and perhaps one or two more who had come with Wyeth's first expedition in 1832, there were, so far as I am able to ascertain, no Americans in Oregon when Jason Lee and his four companions came in 1834. Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young, coming from California, arrived the same year a little later.

A word here about the members of this first missionary party of five persons, beginning with Jason and Daniel Lee. Jason Lee was a man of earnest and energetic character. He was

devoted to ideals, yet one could not say that he was a man of great original genius. Such, indeed, are not numerous in our world. But he was sincere, strong in his convictions and in himself. He was a man of sincere piety, of settled beliefs and was fit for the work in which he was to engage. It was a hopeless scheme, indeed—that of educating and civilizing the Indians of that time, but he didn't know it, and therefore didn't trouble himself with doubts. He believed fully in the future of this great country, yet was scarcely aware that the Indian could not be a factor in it. On the contrary, he thought the Indian might be. This was a mistake. But what he did was to lead the way to American colonization.

The second man was Daniel Lee, nephew of the former, thoroughly devoted to the idea of the mission, young and ardent, not idealistic, but practical, with a world of good common sense and with a willingness to work. He labored in the missionary cause in Oregon until August, 1843, when he left the country, never to return. The ill health of his wife required his departure with her. They left by sea. Daniel Lee continued in the ministry in the Eastern states during many years, and died in Oklahoma in 1895.

With the Lees from New York came Cyrus Shepard, from Lynn, Mass. He was thoroughly devoted to the work for which he was engaged, but had not the physical constitution necessary for his hardships. After his arrival in Oregon he married a Miss Downing, who came out by sea in the *Hamilton*, with the White party, arriving in 1837. Shepard died in January, 1840. His wife and two children survived him.

Jason Lee, Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard were the original party. In Missouri they engaged two young men for their adventure—Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker.

Edwards was a native of Kentucky. In his early boyhood his father removed to Missouri. Here at the age of 22 he joined the Lee expedition to Oregon. He taught a school at Champoege in 1835, and in 1836 went to California to obtain cattle for the settlers in Oregon. With Ewing Young he returned with a band of nearly 1,200, which laid the foundation for rapid accumulation of the comforts of life and future wealth. In March, 1837, Edwards took the trail for the East, over the plains, with Jason Lee and two Indian boys. Returning to his old home in Missouri, he entered the field of politics and was elected to the Legislature. He was chairman of the delegation from Missouri in

1844, which nominated Henry Clay for the Presidency. At Richmond, Mo., he practiced law successfully till 1850, when he went overland to California and in 1855 was in the Legislature of that state as a representative from Sacramento. Wherever he lived he was always a man of note. He died at Sacramento in 1869.

The fifth member of this pioneer missionary party was Courtney M. Walker. He was engaged in Missouri, upon a contract for one year, to assist in establishing the mission. He never left Oregon, but took an Indian wife, lived in Yamhill and left a posterity now, I think, extinct. As I remember him he was a courtly gentleman who, toward the end of his life, managed to dress well, and had the appearance of a man of culture and leisure. A daughter, Helen, married a lawyer in Yamhill, named John Cummins, who in 1862 was a representative of that county in the Legislature. Cummins and wife went to Washington City, where he practiced law. She died there, after a few years, leaving no children. The offspring of white marriages with Indians, though often worthy persons, seldom were long lived.

I give these details, picked up out of many sources of information not readily accessible. But they possess an interest, since they lie at the basis of the creation of the states of the Pacific Northwest; and the smallest details of the beginning of great things have human interest and historic value.

All accounts of the missionary movement to Oregon begin with the story of the four Flathead Indians who, in 1832, made their way over mountains and plains to St. Louis, on a journey whose object the missionary spirit tells us was to obtain religious instruction for themselves and their people. I confess this story has always seemed to me to have a mythical element in it; and Daniel Lee in his book intimates that the later development of the story was subject to doubt. Nevertheless, he tells us that General William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, told him in 1834 that two years before—that is, in 1832—four Indians, probably Nez Perces, had accompanied a party of white trappers from the mountains to St. Louis and had given him an interesting account of their journey and its objects. From the trappers they had learned of the white man's God and the Book he had given, and they wanted to know. General Clark was not a doctor of theology, and appears to have answered them in merely conventional terms. The story carried by the newspapers to the East touched the religious imagination, and served the mission-

ary purpose just as well as if the sole object for which the Indians had accompanied the trappers was to make these inquiries. Certain it is that the cause which started the first of our missionaries to Oregon was publication in New York of this simple Indian story. Let not incredulity smile at the simplicity of the recital. This is the true beginning of the history of the making of Oregon.

The missionary expedition did not find its resting place in the country of the Nez Perces or the Flatheads, according to the original intention. It fell in with the Wyeth party and came on down to the Willamette, then the settlement of a few of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company—British subjects, most of whom had taken Indian wives. The Wyeth party was to meet at the mouth of the Willamette the little vessel which Wyeth had dispatched from Boston, with goods for the Indian trade. The destination of the Wyeth party determined also that of the Lee party. Both were received with kindness by Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company. Shepard remained at Vancouver, detained by sickness. Jason Lee and Courtney Walker came on up the Willamette by boat, and Daniel Lee and Edwards took horses, for which they were indebted to the kindness of Dr. McLoughlin, and joined the others at the site chosen for the mission, on the Willamette, a few miles below the present city of Salem. It was not till after much deliberation that the mission was established at that place, for we are told that the merits of different portions of the country were considered—the Flatheads, the Nez Perces, the Cayuse and other tribes were carefully reviewed, but to the exclusion of all others the Willamette Valley was selected, chiefly because it was “strongly recommended by Dr. McLoughlin and the rest of the gentlemen at Vancouver.” How, in the face of testimony like this, delivered by the American missionaries themselves, it could have been supposed or told later, that the British people in the country were enemies of our people, passes comprehension.

Yet there was sharp competition between the subjects of Great Britain and the American newcomers in Oregon, for ascendancy in the country. The claims of both countries extended to the entire area, from the 42d parallel to 54-40. In truth, however, neither party could hope to maintain its claim entire. Such was the situation that compromise was inevitable. Our claim to the country north of the 49th parallel was weak. As weak was the British claim to the Columbia and especially



weak to the territory south of the Columbia river. Neither party, therefore, was able wholly to exclude the other, though for a time each bravely made an exclusive claim. The talk on our side of "fifty-four forty or fight" was merely the cry of a party among our own people. Say, rather, it was the insolence of partisanship, for Great Britain's claim, through discovery, exploration and occupation, to a standing below fifty-four forty rested on a basis too solid to be disposed of in this way; and besides our claim to "fifty-four forty" rested merely on a convention between the United States and Russia, through which the latter had named "fifty-four forty" as the southern boundary of her American possessions. But to this convention Great Britain had not been a party, and she justly declared that her rights could not be concluded by any negotiation in which she had not participated, or in whose results she had not promised acquiescence. The question, therefore, was still open between Great Britain and the United States. Both countries had undoubted claims. Great Britain, by retrocession of Astoria to the United States, after the War of 1812, had acknowledged our right in the country, and still was acknowledging it; though she was occupying the country, and we were not—down to the arrival of the American traders and missionaries, in 1832-34. Yet Great Britain, through her channels of diplomatic intercourse—whatever her people here may have said or claimed—never made any serious pretension to the territory south of the Columbia river, but had insisted on that stream as the boundary line. But we had, through Gray's discovery, the exploration of Lewis and Clark and the settlement of Astoria—even though Astoria had capitulated—a chain of title that made it impossible for us to consider this claim. Still, there could be no termination of the dispute till the slow migration of our people to the Oregon country gradually established American influence here; and finally the large migration of 1843 gave the Americans decided preponderance, especially in the country south of the Columbia. Into this competition our missionary people were plunged. Indeed, they led the way in it, and to their efforts, mainly, was due the agitation that led to increase of American immigration from our states and gave our people the ascendancy. That there were no collisions here, of serious character, between the representatives of the different countries, was due to good, common language and kinship. The reception accorded to our common sense on both sides, to mutual forbearance, and to

people by the English was uniformly considerate. We have seen how they interested themselves in the settlement of our first missionaries, and remembrance of the benevolence of Dr. McLoughlin to our people, shown many long years, is a possession that will be cherished in our history forever.

In every sketch of the early history of Oregon it is necessary to make some statement of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States over rights of sovereignty here. I shall not pursue the subject, but must mention it, for it is the key to our pioneer history, and the fact must ever be borne in mind when dealing with any part of the theme.

As missionaries to the Indians, the little band and those who came after them cannot be said to have been successful. After few years not many Indians remained to be educated and civilized. This was not the fault of the missionaries, but the inevitable and universal consequence, repeated here, of contact of the white and Indian races. But, as settlers and colonizers, our missionaries "came out strong."

They, with the reinforcements sent out during the next ten years, became the chief force that Americanized Oregon and held the country till the general immigration began to arrive.

The Presbyterians followed the Methodists in the missionary effort. Samuel Parker was sent out in 1835. Whitman came in 1836. Reinforcement to the Methodist mission arrived by sea in the spring of 1837. Its leader was Dr. Elijah White. Dr. White and wife sailed from Boston in the ship *Hamilton*, July 2, 1836. They came by way of the Sandwich Islands. With them came a dozen persons, for work in the mission, including three young women, who became wives of missionaries. Of these details I can give no more in so brief an address as this must be, than is necessary to the main purpose of a short and rapid narrative. Within a year after this reinforcement arrived, Jason Lee, realizing the need of a still stronger force for the work, started East over the plains. This was in 1838, more than five years before "Whitman's ride," undertaken for a similar purpose. Passing through Peoria, Ill., in the winter of 1838, he delivered a lecture on Oregon. This started a party of young men from Peoria for Oregon in the spring of 1839. The party disagreed and divided. A portion of it passed the winter at Brown's Hole, on Green river, some miles below where the main line of the Union Pacific railroad now crosses that stream. In the spring of 1840 it came on to Oregon, arriving at Vancouver

in May, 1840. In this Peoria party were Joseph Holman, Sidney Smith, Amos Cook and Francis Fletcher, all of whom lived to old age and left descendants, now living in various parts of Oregon.

Before he had arrived at the end of his journey eastward, Jason Lee heard of the death of his wife in Oregon, which occurred shortly after he had left her. Bowing as man must to so great a grief and loss, yet his purpose was not shaken. He bestirred himself with all energy to obtain further help for the mission in Oregon, and in October, 1839, with a large party that included many names which became widely known in our pioneer life, sailed from New York in the bark *Lausanne* for the Columbia river. The vessel arrived in the river just as the Peoria party, which had started a year earlier, came down the Columbia to Vancouver, that is, in May, 1840. The party that came by the *Lausanne* became known in missionary annals as "the great reinforcement."

White left Oregon in July, 1840, by sea, for New York. In 1842 he came out again to Oregon, over the plains. With him came a large party, among whom were persons afterwards well known in the history of Oregon as J. R. Robb, S. W. Moss, Medorem Crawford, the Pomeroyes, Andrew and Darling Smith, and many more. White himself went back over the plains in 1845; came again to Oregon via Panama in 1861, with a commission from President Lincoln for an industrial scheme among the Indians, but, finding it impracticable—most of the Indians having passed away—remained but a short time and departed for California. He spent the last years of his life in San Francisco, where he died in 1879.

Of course, it is known and acknowledged on all sides that the missionary enterprise led by Jason Lee was not the only one in the early history of Oregon that left its impress on the life of the country, directed its course and determined its destiny. There were other similar undertakings, but this one was the first, and, on the whole, more powerful than any other. After the Whitman massacre, all Protestant missions in the Upper Columbia region were abandoned, and the people came to the Willamette Valley.

But it was not merely to obtain a reinforcement for the mission that Lee prosecuted his work in the Eastern states. His work was the first work done by a resident of Oregon to induce the government of the United States to aid in colonization and

support of the country, to settle it with American people, and to establish here an American state. Knowing also that commerce must attend the settlement of the country, he made representations to the Cushings of Massachusetts, which interested them in commercial effort in this direction; and this brought John H. Couch to Oregon in 1840, in the bark *Maryland*, with goods for trade, and again in the *Chenamus*, in 1844.

The Catholic missions in Oregon were started in 1838, four years later than the Methodist, and two years later than the Presbyterian.

Jason Lee, leaving Oregon in 1838, and reaching the Atlantic states early in 1839, at once directed his efforts to the purposes he had in view, and for which he had made the tedious journey over the plains. Before he started for Oregon he and P. L. Edwards, who had come with him, drew up a memorial to Congress, which was signed by Lee and Edwards, by every member of the mission at Willamette station, by seventeen other American citizens, nearly all at that time in the country, and by nine French Canadians, who desired to become citizens of the United States. The object of the memorial was to induce the Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon country, and the first appeal made to the government of the United States by any body of the American settlers in Oregon, for assertion by Congress of the rights and sovereignty of the United States. "Our interests," said these petitioners in Oregon, "are identical with those of our own country. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great state, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. We are fully aware, too, that the destinies of our posterity will be deeply affected by the character of those who emigrate to this country. The territory must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom; by the reckless and unprincipled adventurer, the refugee from Botany Bay, the wanderer from South America, the deserting seamen, or by our own hardy and enterprising pioneers." Further, the position of Oregon, on the Pacific Coast, and its necessary relations to future commerce, were explained, and strong appeal was added, that the United States should at once "take formal possession."

It is not my intention to claim merit for one at the expense of another. All our pioneers did well. All performed their part. But it is due to the truth of history to show that Jason Lee was



the leader in colonial as in missionary work in Oregon, and that his journey to the East in the interests of Oregon, and his appeal to Washington, antedated the journey and the appeal of Whitman by five years.

We have said the contest between our own people and the subjects of Great Britain for possession of the Oregon country was the key to our pioneer history. It stimulated the early migration and hastened the settlement. The missionary stations were outposts on the line of colonization. It was through their appeals, chiefly, that the Oregon country was brought to the attention of the pioneer spirit, ever moving westward; and it is not too much to say that most of those who came to Oregon during the first twenty years of settlement and growth were moved to come by the agitation begun and carried on by those engaged in the missionary cause.

There is a vague instinct which leads restless spirits to leave their native country in early life, to try fortune elsewhere. Each thinks, no doubt, that beyond his visual horizon there lies new moral space, with large, though unknown, opportunities. Change of place is the natural demand of this restlessness of spirit. The world, through all ages, has received the benefit of it; it has been one of the great moving forces in the history of our race. Our Oregon of today is a product of it.

The Indian races of Oregon, and in particular of Western Oregon, rapidly melted away. But among the white settlers, fast increasing in numbers after 1840, there was a growing field for religious, moral and educational work. Jason Lee had remarried; and again his wife was called away by death. Sore as was his bereavement, he pursued his work. New demands were constantly arising, and to meet these he deemed it necessary to make another journey to the Eastern states, for additional assistance. Parting with his co-laborers in the missions, and leaving his infant daughter, he sailed from the Columbia river in November, 1843, just after the arrival of the great immigration of that year. Passing through Mexico, he reached New York in May, 1844. Thence he went again directly to Washington to urge once more upon the government the necessity of terminating the joint occupation of Oregon and of establishing quickly and definitely the sovereignty of the United States. But Jason Lee was never to see Oregon again. Conferences with his missionary board, and work of preparation for larger efforts in Oregon occupied him during the remainder of the year



1844. But his arduous labors, the privations and sacrifices of more than ten years, had broken his constitution, and in March, 1845, his mortal part passed from earth. But his spirit is here, and the work he set in motion is a possession here forever. It is fit that Oregon should recover the dust and that her soil should hold it, as the life of her people holds his spirit. Yet human glory was not his aim. His spirit was a higher one, and he achieved it. His name lives; yet of such mould was he that, assured as he was that the Almighty Judge could not forget, even the oblivion of man could have been no matter to him.

He was still young; not yet 42 years of age; but "virtue, not length of days, the mind matures;" and, "that life is long which answers life's great end."

A great nature is a seed. The spirit of life and of action which springs from it grows and will grow among men forever. Thus it is that man is the only being that cannot die. The poet tells us in mournful cadence that the path of glory leads but to the grave. But this is true only in a superficial sense. The path of true glory does not end in the grave. It passes through it, to larger opportunities of service—into a spirit that it stimulates and feeds, and into the spirit that survives it, in men's minds, forever.

Not long remembered would Jason Lee have been—we may suppose—but for the fortune of opportunity that sent him to Oregon. With all men of action it is so. But for his opportunity, given by the Civil War, General Grant would have no name. How slight the original incidents that have linked the name of Jason Lee inseparably with the history of Oregon! The Protestant missions failed, as missions, but they were the main instruments that peopled Oregon with Americans. That is, they were more successful than their authors ever dreamed they could be. They established the foundations of the sovereignty of the United States in the Pacific Northwest. The mission was the first low wash of the waves where now rolls this great human sea, to increase in power, we may believe, throughout all ages.

Jason Lee, though a preacher of power, relied not on the graces of pulpit eloquence. Deep was his earnestness, but he was not a showy man. His journey to the West and his work herein vastly extended his spiritual and intellectual vision. Bancroft, in his study of the character of Lee, says: "No discipline of lecture room, general ministration or other experience, could have been so valuable a preparation for his duties as the rude

routine of the days of his overland journey. It seemed to him as if his theological sea had suddenly become boundless, and he might sail unquestioned whithersoever the winds should carry him. It was delightful, this cutting loose from conventionalisms, for even Methodist preachers are men. Not that there was present any inclination toward a relaxation of principles, as is the case with so many on leaving home and all its healthful influences; on the contrary, he felt himself more than ever the chosen of God, as he was thus brought nearer Him in nature, where he was sustained and guarded by day, and at night enfolded in his starry covering. Fires, within him, both physical and mental, blazed brightly, and he was not a whit behind the most efficient of his company in willingness, ability and courage." This is the testimony of a writer who, throughout his monumental work on the origins of the Pacific states, has shown little disposition to laud the missionaries, or to accord them more than their due.

It is small business either to disparage or flatter the ministry. But we may, even at the grave, speak of the minister as a man. Theology, like conscience, belongs to the private property of each communion; we shall not invade its precincts nor call its devotees to question. But putting aside the doctrine of the priest and considering only the sacerdotal calling in its relations to the world, we must acknowledge the moral superiority and exalted privileges which this profession offers to the man of genius, spirit and virtue who devotes himself to its exercise. On this basis the missionaries to Oregon, of all denominations, Protestant and Catholic, are to be judged without loss to them of any element of worthy reputation.

Of the two women who shared with Jason Lee the labors of his life in Oregon the annals of the time are full of appreciative notice and description. Each was a type of devoted womanhood. Though they gave all for the opportunity to labor in this then unknown field, and sacrificed their lives in it, they are fortunate in name and fame. The first wife, Anna Maria Pittman, died in May, 1838; the second, Lucy Thompson, in March, 1842. Sorrowful fatality, due to the conditions of remote pioneer life, in which woman had to bear more than her part, and yet in her hour of need could not have the assistance that her sisters in more favored circumstances receive. Such were some of the sacrifices of the pioneer time, through which this country was prepared as a dwelling place for the succeeding generations.

It is difficult for any generation to estimate rightly its contemporary men and women of real worth. There are many mistaken estimates. After the Restoration in England, John Milton was overlooked and forgotten. Though the literary defender of the Commonwealth and regicides, he was regarded as too unimportant for notice. His obscurity secured him immunity from prosecution, and he died unnoticed. But so great is he now that kings and princes and nobles of his time walk about under his shadow; the very age that neglected him is now known as "The Age of Milton," and receives its luster from his name. Mind and spirit are the controlling forces of the world. Men of pre-eminence can be estimated only by their peers. Equality of judgment is too scantily bestowed in any living generation to insure a correct decision, to settle the scale of pretension, to arrange the gradations of favor, or the definite place or title which each is to occupy in the ranks of fame. Contemporary men often pronounce that to be greatest which approaches nearest to themselves, since they are able to look upon it with the distinctness of close proximity. But the judgment is with the future time. We get no proper sense of the majesty of our mountain peaks when near them. We must draw back a little, if we would take in their full grandeur.

On this view the work of our missionaries in Oregon rises to proportions more and more majestic, as we study it from the standpoint of history and of consequences, and though others bore lofty spirits and did great work, no name stands or will stand above that of Jason Lee.

HARVEY W. SCOTT.

## OUR FIRST INDIAN WAR.

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Until 1853 Oregon Territory reached from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean and from the California line to British Columbia. All of the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana, were then included within these limits.

In Oregon, at the time of the coming of Jason Lee and Daniel Lee, his nephew, the first missionaries, there were probably about one hundred thousand Indians. Among these, small parties of white men were never entirely safe except among part of the Nez Percés tribe and the natives of the lower Willamette Valley and the upper Puget Sound region. Of course detached families, prospectors, travelers, etc., came and went at will all over this region, and often without harm coming to them, but the record of pillage, outrage and murder during the half century from about 1830 down to 1880 is a long and bloody one. Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor was a careful historian, taking pains at all times to be sure of the facts and to understate rather than to magnify, yet she says the number of white persons killed and wounded within the above limits between the years 1824 and 1878 was eighteen hundred and ninety-six, an average of thirty-seven annually. Of these, the unprovoked murders made more than half the total; the remainder being those wounded in attacks equally unprovoked, or killed and wounded in warfare.

The first Indian war began late in 1847, immediately following the massacre of the mission party at Waiilatpu, with Marcus Whitman at its head, and only a few of these murders occurred before that time, which at least doubled the annual number of fatalities after that time. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of the victims of Indian violence fell between the years 1850 and 1862, a period of twelve years, and during that time the annual loss was at least one hundred and fifty, a frightful drain upon a sparse population.

Most of those who suffered were men in the prime of life, who could ill be spared by the struggling young territories, though comprising all classes—travelers, prospectors, miners, ranchers, traders, freighters, and, lastly, volunteers, who left their homes and families to go to the Indian country in defense

of the outlying settlers or to avenge the unprovoked and brutal crimes against them. Many immigrant families were totally destroyed, the women and children suffering every outrage which fiendish imagination could devise. The amount of property destroyed by Indian attacks upon immigrants, settlers and government supplies, was enormous, and almost none of it was ever repaid to the people who suffered.

It has been the fashion among a class of persons, absolutely ignorant of conditions on the frontier, to prate loudly of the wrongs visited upon the poor Indian. No one, with any knowledge of the facts, will deny that the Indians were oftentimes wrongfully treated by the whites, but as General Sheridan wrote in 1870, "So far as the wild Indians are concerned, the problem to be decided is, 'Who shall be killed, the whites or the Indians?'" Since 1862, at least eight hundred men, women and children have been murdered within the limits of my present command in the most fiendish manner, women ravished, and they and their little children horribly tortured, and then after suffering the pangs of a thousand deaths, killed and scalped." General Sherman also wrote strongly against the Indian apologizers and sympathizers, referring in the most vigorous language to the great number of persons butchered in the department east of the Rocky mountains.

The first Indian war in Oregon was with the Cayuses, mostly with its scene of operations in what is now Walla Walla county, this state. The great war period was a few years later, from 1855 to 1858, during which there was a general uprising of the confederated tribes of Oregon and Washington, in Eastern Oregon and Washington, in the Rogue River region of southern Oregon, and along the eastern shore of the upper Puget Sound.

Individual acts of violence and oppression on the part of white men, from time to time, induced acts of retaliation, but the criminal procrastination and indifference of the general government was responsible for most of the troubles between the settlers and the Indians. The policy of the government was to encourage a vanguard of settlers to cross the constantly receding frontier. This began almost immediately after the close of the war of the Revolution. The government never provided protection for these people, but after most of them had been impoverished by frequent attacks from the Indians, accompanied by murder and outrage, an insufficient army would be sent out to overawe and perhaps punish the savages. While I am no



apologist for the hideous wrongs perpetrated upon the natives of the New World by the Spaniards, they at least protected their own people by sending out a garrison with every colony, which took good care that there were not enough of the native population left to be a menace to the settlers. It is often said the English did better than the Americans with the Indians, and had less trouble with them. This is only a partial truth. Until in comparatively recent years the English occupying the country west of the Canadas were there only as trappers and traders. They interfered but little with the Indians, and in fact gave them a market for their furs and peltries that had before been lacking. The lands over which the natives roamed at will were not sought for nor occupied by their white neighbors. It has been the "land greed" of the Americans that has caused most of the disturbances and wars between them and the Indians.

Prior to 1843 the population of Oregon increased slowly. At the beginning of 1842, there were only one hundred and thirty-seven American settlers. Of these twenty-one were Protestant ministers, fifteen lay members of Protestant churches, thirty-four white women, thirty-two white children, and thirty-four American settlers, twenty-five of whom had native wives. There were also three Jesuit priests, French or Belgians, as I remember. During 1842, the first immigration of American settlers, numbering about one hundred and forty, came across the plains under the leadership of Dr. Elijah White; in 1843 nearly nine hundred immigrants were added to the little colony; in 1844 about seven hundred and fifty; in 1845 about three thousand; in 1846 about one thousand, and in 1847 about five thousand.

Each year poor fare, bad drinking water and long-continued exposure had caused a good deal of sickness among the immigrants, and this had been unavoidably communicated to the Indians, causing a good many deaths among them. This was particularly true of the immigration of the year 1847. It brought with it a virulent form of measles, accompanied by typhoid fever, and these diseases were as fatal among the Indians as the small-pox. The Indians hung about the immigrants most of the time, to the great annoyance of the latter, as they were inveterate beggars and pilferers, and it was not long before the disease was epidemic among the Cayuses, threatening that tribe with extinction, as the mortality was frightful. Missionary Spalding wrote: "It is distressing to go into a lodge of some ten or twenty fires, and count twenty or twenty-five, some in the midst of the measles, others

in the last stages of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth, of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no means of alleviating their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of two sick ones. They were dying every day; one, two, and sometimes five in a day, with the dysentery, which generally followed the measles."

There were Indians and half-breeds among the Cayuses, who had come from other tribes, notably Jo Lewis, who were not friendly to the Americans and who stirred up ill feeling among the natives by telling them that the whites would poison them and get rid of them as fast as they could so the valuable lands along the river bottoms could be turned into farms. Many matters of more or less importance had come up during the three or four years prior to 1847 that had lessened the influence of the missionaries over the Indians.

The first white women to cross the plains were Mesdames Whitman and Spalding, in 1836.

Doctor and Mrs. Whitman settled at Wailatpu, in the Walla Walla valley, a few miles below the present city of Walla Walla. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding went up the Snake river to Lapwai, near the present city of Lewiston, Idaho. Mr. Gray assisted for a time at both places, but the next year he went back East to intercede with the Missionary Board to send out more missionaries. This errand was successful. Soon after he reached the Eastern States he married Mary A. Dix, and in 1838 Revs. A. B. Smith, Elkanah Walker and Cushing Eells, and Wm. H. Gray and their brides, and Cornelius Rogers made up this reinforcement. The trip across the continent was a wedding tour for the three newly-married couples. This was the second party of ladies to accomplish this arduous and perilous undertaking.

At this time Texas, California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona were foreign territory, and Oregon was so much foreign country that it was necessary for the missionaries to procure passports from the Secretary of War. That to Eells and party was dated February 27, 1838.

The houses were of logs or sun-dried bricks—adobes, with the earth for a floor and evergreen boughs or cedar bark for a roof. Cooking was done at an open fire—stoves were unknown. Daylight came in at the open door, or through small windows covered with cotton cloth or oiled deerskin. Tables, chairs, and all the scanty furniture, were of home manufacture from boards split from logs. There was but one saw mill, and that at Fort

Vancouver. Later they used whipsaws, and with them a small amount of lumber was laboriously cut by hand. Flour mills were much more numerous, as there was one at Vancouver and another at Colville. Myron Eells wrote that the latter proved a great convenience, for while they lived among the Spokane tribe they could make the trip there and back in five days. The plows were home-made, the singletrees were strengthened with rawhide instead of iron, from which their ropes were also made. For nine years the wheat was cut with a sickle. [Parenthetically—In the early fifties, in the Willamette valley we had advanced to the use of cradles to cut the grain, but most of our threshing was still done with flails, or by having it tramped out by cattle or horses. This was done by first spreading out the grain about a foot deep over the corral ground, which had been hardened by countless hoofs and which had been carefully cleaned by sweeping it with brooms whittled from ash or hazel saplings. When the grain was ready cattle or horses, preferably the latter, were turned into the corral and driven around the circle until the grain was separated from the straw. It is one of my pleasant recollections how proud I was when I was permitted to help drive the animals which it was necessary to urge along with whip and goad to prevent them from taking too much toll while engaged at their task.] The flour sacks were of buckskin, as were many of the garments in everyday use. Cattle were scarce, and nearly all of them belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, which would not part with any of them for love nor money. Beef was the chief article of diet, especially in the winter, but the animals from which it was made neither "chewed the cud nor parted the hoof." They were Indian ponies, and for several years each family salted one down every winter.

These conditions were not all confined to missionary life. Many of you old pioneers have either personally known them or have heard your parents relate similar experiences of their pioneer life. At the Whitman mission, in its early days, a small allowance of bread was baked and enjoyed once a week, and then boiled wheat and corn were the staple diet the rest of the week. Flint and tinder were relied upon to start the fires, matches being unknown until many years later. Mails usually came twice a year in the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands. These vessels brought the merchandise used by the company in its trading with the Indians and trappers for furs and peltries, which made

part of the return cargoes, supplemented, ere long, when the herds and flocks of the company had grown to immense proportions, by hides, tallow and wool. The profits that enured to the company from this monopoly made its stock the most sought after of any in the London market. When the missionaries learned that mails had arrived at Walla Walla they would start there on horseback with a pack animal to carry blankets and supplies. It took Mr. Eells two weeks to make the round trip of four hundred miles. The letters and papers were usually twelve months old.

Enduring these privations without complaint, and surrounded at all times by dangers from the elements, wild animals and treacherous Indians, this little band, widely separated from each other, year after year, carried on their labors among the Cayuses and Nez Perces.

For a time they were greatly encouraged over the apparent success of their efforts in Christianizing and civilizing the Indians around them, but about 1841, from many causes, the natives changed from their general attitude of kindness and apparent zeal to learn to read and to understand the lessons taught them by the missionaries, and became insolent and threatening in their demeanor. The mission schools were abandoned, and thefts and acts of petty violence were frequent. From 1843 to 1847 the Cayuses and most of the Nez Perces retrograded rather than improved in education and civilization. During the latter part of this period the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who understood thoroughly the ins and outs of Indian character, often advised and entreated Doctor Whitman to abandon his work at Waiilatpu. The latter undoubtedly realized the dangers surrounding him, as he advised the immigrants to use the utmost discretion in their intercourse with the Indians. There is abundant evidence of record that he knew he stood over a powder magazine that was liable to explode at any time, but he was of the stuff from which martyrs are made and felt that duty commanded him to remain at his post at all hazards.

Of the immigration of 1847, about fifty remained at the mission station instead of going down to the Willamette valley. These, added to the mission party, made up a total of about seventy.

On the afternoon of November 29th of that year, the Cayuses made a sudden onslaught on these people and killed Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, John and Francis Sager, Mr. Gilli-



land, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Hoffman. The next day Mr. Kimball and Mr. Young were killed, and several days later two young men, named Crockett Bewley and Amos Sales, who had been spared for some reason, were added to the list of slain, and two little children, one of the Sager children and Helen Mar, the daughter of Joe Meek, were allowed to die of neglect. A man named Hall made his escape to Fort Walla Walla, and instead of remaining there in safety insisted on being ferried across the river on his way to The Dalles. He was never heard of afterward, and was either killed or drowned in trying to cross some stream. This made the total number of the victims of Indian cruelty sixteen.

No account of this massacre has ever been written that was not disputed by some of the parties to the bitter sectarian controversies that followed for many years, and to this date no agreement has been reached.

I have read carefully the different statements published soon after the massacre, and during the succeeding quarter century—Spalding's, Gray's, Brouillet's, J. Ross Browne's—and an immense mass of transient accounts of the same, and at this time declare unhesitatingly that I do not believe the Hudson's Bay Company's people were in any manner directly or intentionally responsible for the Whitman massacre. He and all other missionaries, Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic alike, at all times and at all places, were treated with kindness and with generous hospitality, which was boundless. At the company's stations, and on their travels in the Indian country, they were aided by the company's officers, and particular pains were taken to impress upon the minds of the Indians that the safety and comfort of the missionaries were desired at their hands. It is a fact that most of the officers of the company were Catholics, and that nearly all the subordinates were of the same faith, and that while all were welcomed and cared for most generously, still it was quite natural that the Catholic priests were shown greater deference and were accepted as friends while the others were guests. The Indians were quick to observe this nice distinction. The Catholic priests appeared in their black gowns and carrying with them the emblems of their service; they were received with great respect by the officers and warmly welcomed by the employes of the company. The Hudson's Bay Company was the highest corporeal power known to the Indians. Its officers enunciated the law and enforced it with iron hands



in all that came up between it and the natives. Any wrong doing that affected the company was punished surely and swiftly. For these reasons, when the Indians saw what deference was shown to the priests by those to whom they, the Indians, looked up to as "Tyees," whatever the priests said to them was naturally accepted with greatest respect. The ceremonials of the church service were attractive to them, and the instructions connected with them all made a lasting impression upon their memories.

In their teachings of the Indians, the priests did not hesitate to pronounce the religious instructions of the Protestants as the grossest of falsehoods, and the latter were equally vigorous in their declarations of the falsity of the teachings of the Catholics, and of their blasphemy. This had an evil influence upon the Indians, who could not understand the distinctions in religious creeds, and possibly I might add that many white people of the present day are equally benighted.

The Hudson's Bay people could have had no object in causing trouble between the whites and Indians at that late day. The treaty settling the northern boundary of Oregon at the 49th parallel had been signed more than a year; the region about Walla Walla was never of value for the gathering of peltries, so that if white settlers had begun to occupy the lands adjacent it was a matter of small importance to the company, whose rights had been abundantly safeguarded in the treaty mentioned above.

The rest of the party, mostly women and children, remained captives among the Indians, and the women, and even young girls, became the victims of the lust of their captors.

But for the immediate and vigorous action of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, these would all have been killed very soon after the other tragedy. James Douglas and Peter Ogden, two of the grand men of that early period, had succeeded Dr. McLoughlin in chief control of its affairs, and then lived at Fort Vancouver. McBean, the factor in charge of Fort Walla Walla, sent off an express as soon as he learned of the massacre, and at once upon its receipt Ogden started for the scene of the tragedy. Arrived at Walla Walla, he demanded that the captives be delivered to him, and such was his wisdom, as well as courage and adroitness, coupled with the great influence of the company's officers among the Indian tribes, that he succeeded in rescuing them to the number of fifty-seven, and at the same time made no promises to the Indians of immunity from punishment

for their crimes. He gave what the Indians accepted as a most liberal ransom, consisting of fifty large blankets, fifty shirts, ten guns, ten fathoms of tobacco, ten handkerchiefs, and one hundred balls and powder.

To Ogden the captives and the people of Oregon owed a heavy debt of gratitude that was never forgotten by those whose minds were not obscured by prejudice or partisanship.

The provisional legislature of Oregon met at Oregon City on the 7th day of December, 1847, and on the 8th the following letter was received from James Douglas, chief factor at Vancouver:

"George Abernethy, Esq.

"Sir:—Having received intelligence last night by special express from Walla Walla of the destruction of the missionary settlement at Waiilatpu, by the Cayuse Indians of that place, we hasten to communicate the particulars of that dreadful event, one of the most atrocious that darkens the annals of Indian crime.

"Our lamented friend, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, with nine other persons, have fallen victims to the fury of these remorseless savages, who appear to have been instigated to this appalling crime by a horrible suspicion which had taken possession of their superstitious minds, in consequence of the number of deaths from dysentery and measles, that Dr. Whitman was silently working the destruction of their tribe by administering poisonous drugs, under the semblance of salutary medicines.

"With a goodness of heart and benevolence truly his own, Dr. Whitman had been laboring incessantly since the appearance of the measles and dysentery among his Indian converts to relieve their sufferings; and such has been the reward of his generous labors.

"A copy of Mr. McBean's letter, herewith transmitted, will give you all the particulars known to us of this indescribably painful event.

"Mr. Ogden, with a strong party, will leave this place as soon as possible for Walla Walla, to endeavor to prevent further evil; and we beg to suggest to you the propriety of taking instant measures for the protection of Rev. Mr. Spalding, who, for the sake of his family, ought to abandon the Clearwater mission without delay, and retire to a place of safety, as he cannot remain at that isolated station without imminent risk, in the present excited and irritable state of the Indian population.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"JAMES DOUGLAS."

What a burden was thus thrust upon the officers and legislature of the Territory! There was in the treasury forty-three dollars and seventy-two cents, with an outstanding indebtedness of four thousand and seventy-nine dollars and seventy-four cents. War was inevitable, but where could funds be obtained to carry it on? Application was made to the Hudson's Bay Company, and on the personal guaranty of Governor Abernethy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy, supplies to the value of one thousand dollars were promptly supplied by it.

These three gentlemen were appointed loan commissioners to obtain subscriptions and loans from the merchants and few men of means in the Willamette valley, and they secured the pledge of five thousand dollars with which to equip the regiment of volunteers for an extended campaign in the upper country. Very little of this was in cash, and the rest was in provisions of all kinds, clothing, blankets, arms, ammunition, horses and their accoutrements, and all else that could be made available.

A company of riflemen was raised the same day, and officered and equipped the next, and it pushed forward to The Dalles at once. A regiment was raised during the succeeding thirty days, and Cornelius Gilliam was made its colonel. Mitchell Gilliam, one of the judges of the King County Superior Court, is his grandson.

It was in those days a matter of the greatest difficulty and hardship to get a body of men up the Columbia river to The Dalles, and it was not until the last of January that Col. Gilliam, at the head of one hundred and thirty men, was able to take the field, with the latter place for his base. The first engagement was with the Des Chuttes, John Days and Cayuses. About twenty miles from what was later known as Celilo, the Indian camp was attacked, one Indian killed and the rest dispersed. The next day the whole force went in pursuit of the enemy, which was found and attacked, regardless of its numbers, several Indians killed, a large number of horses, a few cattle, and nearly fifteen hundred dollars of stolen property recaptured. Skirmishing continued for several days, with a loss to the army of four men killed.

Peace negotiations, lack of facilities for transportation and of food, delayed the progress of the troops, and it was not until late in February, 1848, that a fight of any importance occurred. This was a little below the mouth of the Umatilla river, where the Cayuses had chosen their ground. Repeated charges were

made on them as from time to time they fell back and reformed, and toward dark they made a disorderly retreat, leaving eight dead and five wounded behind them. Five of the volunteers were wounded.

The Cayuses were surprised and disappointed over this day's fighting. The Americans had always avoided trouble with them, as they were tired and worn out with the hardships of crossing the plains, and encumbered with their stock and families. It had been the boast of the Indians that they would beat the Americans to death with clubs, and then go down to the Willamette valley and gather together the women and children and the white men's property.

As the troops continued their march toward Walla Walla the Indians hung on their flank, away up on the bluffs, but did not venture to attack.

All this time it was feared that the Yakima and Columbia river Indians would join with the Cayuses, but pains were taken to allay the apprehensions of the former, as they were assured that the surrender of the Indians who had committed the atrocities at the Whitman mission was the chief purpose of the expedition.

On the last day of February the troops reached the Walla Walla river, and on the 2nd of March camp was made near the site of the mission, and the dread story of the massacre, with all of its horrible details, first became fully known.

Colonel Gilliam, with two companies, first visited the mission ground, and the next day moved his camp to its site. The dead had been buried in shallow graves, and had been unearthed by the wolves and lay about, half devoured. Some of Mrs. Whitman's golden tresses were cut off and preserved, and the mutilated remains of herself and husband were interred together and a neat picket fence erected about the grave. The others were also reburied. The buildings had been burned and desolation reigned. Books, papers, letters, and other things of no interest or value to the Indians, lay scattered about. Some of the latter disclosed the fact that Dr. Whitman was fully aware of the dangers that encompassed him.

From the time the troops left The Dalles vexatious delays occurred from day to day, caused by conferences with other tribes of Indians not parties to the massacre. Efforts were made by the Cayuses to bring about a general uprising. Had they been successful in this it would have resulted in the annihilation



of all the Americans in the upper country, armed or unarmed. These delays and negotiations continued to the end of the campaign. "Blood is thicker than water," and even the Nez Percés, most of whom were always the friends of the whites and deplored the massacre at Waiilatpu, as well as other friendly Indians, did not hesitate to employ artifices to delay the troops and thus enable the Cayuses to move their families and stock out of danger.

After a delay of a week the army of about two hundred and seventy men again advanced, and on the banks of the Tucannon were attacked by the Palouses, allies of the Cayuses. Advancing slowly, fighting all day, the troops had to camp at night without food or fire, under gun fire all the time, so that they were glad when the first streaks of dawn enabled them to again advance. The engagement was sharp, and at times critical, but victory rested with the whites, with several wounded, one mortally. The Indians lost four killed and fourteen wounded. This sickened the Palouses of fighting, and, although the whites had won the fight, they had been without rest or food for thirty hours and were glad of a respite.

While the troops had been successful in their operations thus far, it had become apparent that the force in the field was inadequate for a campaign, and it was decided to build forts and leave enough men to garrison them, and let the rest return to the valley and harvest their crops, and during that period raise another regiment.

Colonel Gilliam and Captains Maxon and McKay, with two companies, left Waiilatpu March 20th, with a wagon train, leaving Lieut. Col. Waters in command of the forts and men. Just below Umatilla, where they made camp for the night, Colonel Gilliam was instantly killed by the accidental discharge of a gun. He had proven himself a most intrepid soldier and capable Indian fighter.

Troops came and went during the summer, but little active work was done. Missionaries Eells and Walker and families were escorted from Colville to The Dalles by a company under Major Magone, who had volunteered for that service.

As an additional incentive for men to remain at the front, Colonels Lee and Waters promised that authority would be given volunteers for that service to take land claims in the Cayuse territory. This offer was accepted, and the required number of fifty, under Captain Martin, remained. Governor Aber-



nethy approved these promises later, as a military necessity, and thus began the first actual settlements in what is now Eastern Washington.

The proclamation discharging the first regiment of volunteers, except the men who remained to garrison the forts, was dated July 5, 1848. The volunteers in the Indian country were hardy and resourceful. The mill at Waiilatpu was repaired, and as considerable grain was discovered in Indian caches, they soon had plenty of flour. They also raised several hundred bushels of grain during the summer. Meat was abundant, and they lived well. They held control of the Cayuse country, marked out claims for themselves on the best lands; also patrolled the immigrant road, which was of great service to the migration of 1848.

The Indian murderers had fled to the upper waters on Burnt river, and were reduced to poverty; the Cayuses also, as a tribe, had been greatly humbled.

The events sketched heretofore, of such vital interest to the infant Oregon colony, were long in coming to the knowledge of the outside world. Efforts had been made at once to send word overland to the States and to California, but had failed. It was also not known in Oregon that the United States had taken possession of California, and it was late in the summer of 1848 before anything was done at the national capital. August 14th Gen. Joseph Lane, who later ran for Vice-President on the ticket with John C. Breckenridge, when Lincoln was elected to the presidency, was appointed governor, and Joe Meek marshal. These two started immediately for Oregon and arrived early in March, 1849, and at once a proclamation was issued to the effect that the United States had at last asserted its authority over Oregon Territory. The treaty with Great Britain had been concluded more than three years that confirmed our title to Oregon, and but for this Indian war other years would doubtless have elapsed before the prayers of the Oregon settlers would have been answered.

In May, 1849, the United States started a regiment of riflemen overland to Oregon, in command of Col. W. W. Loring. They encountered many hardships, and often were on short allowances of food. Arrived late in the fall at The Dalles, they were almost naked. Seventy men were lost on the way by death and desertion. They spent the winter at Oregon City.

In the meantime, Governor Lane had been carrying on nego-

tiations with the Cayuse tribe for the surrender of those who participated in the massacre of Doctor Whitman and the others. The arrival of the soldiers of the regular army, which had long been threatened, and the increasing tide of immigration, opened the eyes of the Indians to the power of the Americans. Sales of ammunition to the Indians had been stopped, which to them was a great hardship, as their food supply was largely cut off in consequence, and the fugitives felt its effects even more than the others.

The Cayuses recognized the fact that something must be done. Early in 1849 Governor Lane received word that five of the tribe had surrendered themselves to be tried, and were on their way down the Columbia river under escort. He went to The Dalles to meet them. They were taken to Oregon City and there held under guard until late in May, then tried before Judge O. C. Pratt. A jury was empaneled, from which old settlers and those who had suffered at the hands of Indians were excluded. U. S. District Attorney Holbrook conducted the prosecution, while Territorial Secretary Pritchett and Paymaster Reynolds and Capt. Claiborne, Jr., of the U. S. Army, conducted the defense.

The attorneys interposed every defense that able men could devise, but a verdict was returned of guilty as charged. Attempts were also made to appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, and in other ways to delay the execution, but without avail, as the Indians went to the scaffold soon afterward.

Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor, in discussing events of the period, said:

"That which strikes the student of Oregon history is the pathetic patience with which the people, and the provisional government, bore the long-continued neglect of the federal government. From the first influx of immigration proper, in 1842 and 1843, Congress had been entreated to make some provision for the protection of travelers to Oregon from Indian attacks, as it had previously been urged to insist upon the rights of Americans as against the British, represented by the Hudson's Bay Company. But Congress had equally neglected both. The people, guided by a few wise minds, had hit upon the plan of inducing the British residents to join them in forming a joint organization, which both parties knew to be temporary, and only to be maintained by mutual concessions. After much petitioning, Congress had at last ordered to be raised and equipped a regiment of mounted riflemen, to establish posts and patrol the road to Oregon; but instead of being sent at once to this country it

was ordered to duty in Mexico, from there sent back to Fort Leavenworth at the close of the war with Mexico, and its decimated ranks filled up with raw recruits. Of these movements isolated Oregon was in ignorance, and, unable to account for the non-appearance of the regiment known to have been raised for her exclusive benefit, still strained her eyes toward the east, always looking for some sign, and listening for some news of the promised aid. For this Doctor Whitman was waiting when he delayed too long to leave the Cayuse country. For this the volunteers at Fort Waters waited until October, performing the duty the federal government had been pledged to perform; and for this Oregon was still waiting when Governor Abernethy was called upon to assist the United States."

Several years afterward Congress appropriated one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to pay the expenses of the Cayuse war, and later a bill was also passed that, among others, gave bounties to the volunteers of this war.

This war marked the close of the provisional government of Oregon. The men who brought it to a conclusion had all imaginable difficulties to contend with. There was no money in the treasury, and practically none in the country. Each volunteer had to furnish his own weapons, and was poorly supplied with ammunition, clothes and food. While the actual loss in killed and wounded was not great, it required men of undaunted courage to penetrate the Indian country, surrounded as they were by hordes of Indians, who, had they combined, as there was always danger, could at any time have overwhelmed the Americans.

Nearly sixty years have passed since this war began. Only here and there one remains of the original band who first taught the Indians to fear the American when he went on the warpath, but their children and children's children are many all over this Northwest. Not a few of these live on Puget Sound today, and the fighting blood that has come down to them from their pioneer ancestors is to them a proud heritage.

George Abernethy was then Oregon's provisional governor. His nephew has long been one of Seattle's business men. I have mentioned Mitchell Gilliam. John C. Holgate has a host of relatives here. Jeremiah Driggs has a daughter; M. M. McCarver has a daughter here and one in Tacoma, and descendants all over the Sound; Daniel Waldo has a nephew; Medorum Crawford has a brother and nephew. Nathan Olney has descendants on the Sound. Col. B. F. Shaw is still living in Vancouver, and

one of the best known men in the State. Clark S. Pringle and his wife, Catherine Sager, one of the rescued children, are spending a hale and hearty old age in Spokane.

Old Oregonians know all the names that follow, and they are also household words with hundreds of our own pioneers, viz.: James W. Nesmith, Jo Meek, Robert Magone, James Force, H. A. G. Lee, Thomas McKay, Joel Palmer, William Burnett, A. L. Lovejoy, Robert Newell, H. J. G. Maxon, John Minto, W. T. Matlock, L. J. Rector, Wesley Shannon and Lewis M. Savage. A. M. Poe, one of the pioneer newspaper men of Washington, is also on the list. Had I the time I might prolong the list indefinitely.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

## DIARY OF DR. DAVID S. MAYNARD WHILE CROSS- ING THE PLAINS IN 1850.

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Of the five months' journey to the Pacific Doctor David S. Maynard left account in his diary, which is used in the pages following. It was evidently inconvenient to him to write, as the daily spaces were small, three to the page, and there was much to do on the way, but between the lines and the times much can now be seen and read that does not appear in letters and words upon the paper. The first entry is that of Tuesday, April 9, 1850, here given :

Left home for California. Passed through Norwalk to Monroeville. Took the cars to Sandusky. Saw a large eagle on the prairie. Passage, 75 cents. Paid to Drakeley, \$4. Dinner and horse feed, 75 cents. Total, \$5.50.

There are no more entries until April 20th, at Cincinnati, from which it may be inferred that the traveler was about eleven days in making the trip across the State from north to south, probably on his horse, which he also probably sold at Cincinnati. The second and third diary notes are these :

April 20th.—Left Cincinnati at 4 o'clock on board the Natchez.

April 21st.—Arrived at Louisville at 10. Walked to New Albany, in Indiana, a place of about 7,000 inhabitants—Lockville. Saw James Porter, the Kentucky giant, 7 2-3 feet.

The Doctor journeyed on without making notes until the middle of May, by which time he had fully arranged for the long remainder of the trip. He had a mule, a buffalo robe, a gun, a few medicines, his surgical instruments and several books. He connected himself with a party, depending upon his wits, his professional skill, his talent for doing things, his good humor and his general usefulness wherever placed, to carry him through to the other shore in safety and reasonable comfort. That his ideas were correctly based is well known, and to a certain extent are portrayed in the narrative following from his own pencil :

Thursday, May 16.—Crossed the Missouri river at Saint Joseph, and encamped.

May 17.—Left camp about 11 o'clock, and went six miles. Passed the snake's den.



May 18.—Traveled about seventeen miles over the bluffs. Very little timber, but good water.

May 19.—Traveled about eighteen miles. Passed one grave. An Indian farm about four miles west of the toll bridge kept by the Sac and Fox Indians. Toll, 25 cents. Passed one of the most beautiful pictures of country I ever saw. Drove the team with Mason.

May 20.—Traveled about sixteen miles over beautiful rolling prairie. No timber. Passed some new graves. Passed one horse and one ox left to die at leisure.

May 21.—Tuesday. Passed the grave of A. Powers, of Peoria County, Illinois, died on the 20th inst., about sixty-five miles west of St. Joseph. Traveled about eighteen miles. Was called to visit three cases of cholera. One died, a man, leaving a wife and child, from Illinois, poor. He lived seven hours after being taken. No wood or water secured.

May 22.—Rainy. Traveled five miles, and came to wood and water in plenty. Went on about ten miles further, and put out for the night. Fleming and Curtis taken with the cholera. Wake all night. Called upon just before we stopped to see a man with the cholera, who died soon after.

May 23.—Curtis and Fleming better, but not able to start in the morning. Started at 12, and traveled about six miles. Plenty of water three-quarters of a mile north of the road. Stopped in camp with Dr. Bemis's company. Heard wolves during the night.

May 24.—Started early. Curtis and Fleming pretty comfortable. Traveled about nineteen miles. Passed the forks leading to Independence. Camped at Blue river. One grave, child 11 years old. Forded the stream. Raised our loading. Got my medicines wet. Boys caught a meal of catfish. Fish were large and plenty, and included enough for tomorrow's breakfast.

May 25.—Started at Big Blue river. Took in company Samuel J. Hunter. Left the river at half past 3. Another grave. Traveled ten miles.

May 26. Traveled about five miles and rested. Had catfish for breakfast.

May 27. Went in with John Childs's train of ten wagons. At night the company lacked water, having camped on a hill away from water and wood. Traveled eighteen miles. Saw an antelope.

May 28.—Late start. Traveled alone, about fifteen miles. Plenty of feed and tolerable water. Passed four graves. Camped on a dry hill, a few rods from the Childs train.

May 29.—Started at 6 o'clock, going about eighteen miles. Water scarce and poor. Curtis gave the milk away. Went without dinner. A drove of buffaloes were seen by a company ahead. Left the team and went on ahead. Saw one buffalo and

one antelope. Took sick with the cholera. No one meddled or took any notice of it but George Moon.

May 30.—Feel better. Start on foot. Continue to get better. Travel up the Little Blue twenty miles. Wood, water and feed tolerable.

May 31.—Started at 6. Followed up the Blue. Passed one good spring. Feed short. Traveled twenty miles. Hunter left, and I took the cooking line.

June 1.—Left the range of the Blue. Traveled twenty miles. Saw three antelopes.

June 2.—Started late. Rode all the forenoon, and read. Traveled eleven miles. Put up on the Platte. No wood or good water.

June 3.—Started at half past 6. Traveled five miles to Fort Kearney. Saw tame buffaloes. The fort buildings are built of wood, brick and mud. The country is flat and rather low. Two miles southeast are sandhills in sight. Went about twenty-two miles, and fell in with innumerable hosts of immigrants. Rained through the night.

June 4.—Traveled up the Platte river twenty miles. The road was low, level and muddy. The river is about a mile wide. At 2 o'clock it began to rain and blow tremendously, continuing all night. Camped without a spark of fire or warm supper, with our clothes as wet as water. A man died with the cholera in sight of us. He was a Mason. I was called to see him, but too late.

June 5.—It rains yet. Got as wet as ever in getting the team. I got a chance to cook some meat and tea with Dr. Hotchkiss's stove. In company with Mr. Stone from Mansfield. Have a bad headache; take a blue pill. Start at 9; travel to a creek, twelve miles.

June 6.—Start at 9. Unship our load, and cross a creek. One death, a Missourian, from cholera. Go eighteen miles. Pass four graves in one place. Two more of the same train are ready to die. Got a pint and a half of brandy. Earn \$2.20. Left Krill with a dying friend.

June 7.—Start late. Find plenty of doctoring to do. Stop at noon to attend some persons sick with cholera. One was dead before I got there, and two died before the next morning. They paid me \$8.75. Deceased were named Israel Broshears and William Broshears and Mrs. Morton, the last being mother to the bereaved widow of Israel Broshears. We are 85 or 90 miles west of Fort Kearney.

June 8.—Left the camp of distress on the open prairie at half past 4 in the morning. The widow was ill both in body and mind. I gave them slight encouragement by promising to return and assist them along. I overtook our company at noon twenty miles away. Went back and met the others in trouble enough. I traveled with them until night. Again overtook

our company three miles ahead. Made my arrangements to be ready to shift my duds to the widow's wagon when they come up in the morning.

June 9.—Started off in good season. Went twenty miles. Encamped on a creek. Wolves very noisy, keeping us awake all night.

June 10.—Traveled eleven miles, and crossed South Platte at the lower crossing. Stream three-fourths mile wide, with a heavy current.

June 11.—Traveled twenty-one miles. Waded for wood for self and Rider. Got small ash poles.

Here there is a break in the doctor's journal, there being no entries from June 12th to 24th inclusive. This is the only omission in the entire journey from Missouri river to Puget Sound. It is to be supposed that the troubles were so many and the labors so great incident to the peculiar situation in which he found himself that he then was unable to keep the diary written up as he did before and after the events in connection with the unfortunate Morton-Broshears party. Seven members of the party died there and then, Mrs. Broshears losing not only her husband and mother but three other relatives, and being left in a most forlorn and helpless condition. The sympathy and assistance she required from the doctor, who subsequently became her second husband, accounts reasonably for this much to be regretted omission in the narrative.

Tuesday, June 25.—Started late, in consequence of our cattle being lost. When I came in from hunting the cattle the company had gone and left us. We drove on to the Bad Hills, about eighteen miles, and encamped.

June 26.—Started from camp in tolerable season, after burying Austin Morton. Drove two miles and camped. Feed is poor, and plenty of stock to eat it. Took care of the team alone.

June 27.—George Benton commenced driving the team. Went ten miles to Cottonwood Creek; camp there and wash up. Feed is good and water excellent. I cannot persuade the company to stop half long enough to recruit the team. Part with Fanings & Co.

June 28.—Finished our washing and took a trip to the mountain four miles south. I think this the pleasantest hunting ground I ever saw. Team came in at night full and lively.

June 29.—Left camp and traveled over to the North Platte again. Went ten miles and camped. Feed poor.

June 30.—Traveled about fourteen miles to the ferry. Crossed our teams over, leaving the oxen on the east side. Had a serious tramp in carrying supper to the boys, after dark, some six or seven miles and back.

July 1.—Brought teams to the stream to ford. After working two-thirds of the day we had nine oxen to ferry across at \$1 per head. Drove out five miles and camped without feed or water.

July 2.—Traveled over rough hills about twenty miles to Willow Springs. Feed poor, water a little touched with alkali. Found plenty of saleratus water, by which our teams suffered much.

July 3.—Left Willow Springs, and traveled over barren, rough mountains about twenty miles to big creek. No feed.

July 4.—Left the big creek and went ten miles to Independence Rock. Celebrated a little. Found feed very scarce. Rider's hired hand came, and agreed to come on with him.

July 5.—Dragged the team through sand eight miles to Devil's Gate, and turned out and drove team three miles to feed. This pass through the rocks of the Whitewater is one of the curiosities of nature. Perpendicular height of rocks four hundred feet. Width of stream or valley fifty-five feet.

July 6.—Drove the team to camp and took wagons out to grass. Oxen sick; vomiting like dogs. Old Nig looks bad. Got better towards night.

July 7.—Go on a trip to the mountain. See a large panther and five antelopes. Got spruce gum and snow. Got into camp about 3 o'clock, tired enough.

July 8.—Started out, and after traveling six miles discovered a party of Indians coming upon us. We heard they had just robbed one train. Prepared for an attack. When within half a mile they sent two of their number to see how strong we were. After viewing us carefully they left us for good. Traveled twenty-two miles.

July 9.—Left the creek by spells, and traveled through the Narrows twenty miles and camped. Bought buffalo meat. Kept guard for fear of Mormons. Team comfortably fed.

July 10.—Traveled in sand all day, and camped without feed or water. Came twenty miles.

July 11.—Started before breakfast, and came eight miles to Sweetwater. Stopped, took breakfast, and went on to the Sweetwater again, camped; fourteen miles.

July 12.—Left Sweetwater and traveled over the ragged mountains twenty miles. I was well worn out, as well as the team, from watching at night. A miserable company for help.

July 13.—Left the ice spring. Team poorly fed. Traveled eight miles to the last of the Sweetwater. Turned out with a view to stopping, but the company growled, and we again set sail. Went on in search of feed and water until all power was exhausted. Team got ahead about five miles. Camped, with little feed and no water.

July 14.—Team tolerably fed, but no water. Traveled eight miles to Pacific Springs. Watered and filled water cask. Wrote



a line to Henry (Maynard's son). Paid 50 cents to carry it to St. Joseph. I then went ahead in search of feed and water. Found some feed but not water, and got no thanks from the company for my labor.

July 15.—Left camp and passed the forks of the roads, the left road leading to Salt Lake. Traveled eight miles to the Little Sandy. Watered the team, drove three miles more, turned out and camped. Drove the team up four miles further for feed. Set things at right about camp, carried supper to the boys four miles, washed, changed clothes and slept in tent.

July 16.—Found good feed for team four and a half miles from camp, and stayed to rest our teams and wash in the waters of Little Sandy. Company growled so much I consented to start next morning. Found ice in the water bucket this morning.

July 17.—Got under way at 8, and drove twelve miles to Big Sandy. I went in search of feed; tramped about eleven miles, and found feed scarce. Returned to camp, and sent the boys out with teams to graze all night. The water of the Sandy is made of the snow melting on the mountains in sight.

July 18.—Left camp at 11 o'clock with our water vessels all filled, to cross the desert, fifty-three miles, to Green river. Traveled all day and night. Dust from one to twelve inches deep on the ground and above the top of the wagon cover a perfect cloud. Crossed a plain of twelve miles, and then went over a tremendous mountain.

July 19.—Arrived at Green river about noon. Paid \$7 per wagon for ferrying. Drove out eight miles to grass on a branch of Green river. Put cattle in the brush and let them go.

July 20.—Drove the cattle out to feed. Watched them all day myself. George caught four trout, which made us a good breakfast. Drove in the team about 10 in the evening. Lion, Sam and Bright are sick.

July 21.—Company was not willing to feed the team or for me to doctor Lion. We therefore start without even watering team. Came on about four miles and camp. Teams falling behinds. Went back to learn the cause. Found them too weak to travel. Went on and left them. Travel fifteen miles to a branch of Green river.

July 22.—Left camp at 8 o'clock. Found a rough mountainous road. Traveled to the ten springs among the spruce. Feed scarce. Came fifteen miles. Rain stopped us from going further. Rider came up at eve, drove past, and camped in sight. Got the tent in which George and I slept.

July 23.—Climbed mountains at the start. Passed Rider's team after they camped. Drove about a mile, and found good water and good feed. Went eighteen miles.

July 24.—Began climbing the mountains at 7, and went over the worst ones I ever saw teams encounter. Crossed a branch of Green river. Passed through a beautiful grove of spruce and



fir. We threw Lion down, and found four or five gravel stones in his foot. Came eighteen miles and camped, with most excellent water and feed.

July 25.—Left camp at 6:30, after throwing Lion and doctoring his foot, which Mrs. Broshears, George and myself did alone. This day the mountains have capped the climax. Crossed Bear river, and traveled down the valley. Find good water and the best of feed. The mountains present the grandest display of nature yet seen. Rocks two feet thick stand upon edge from thirty to one hundred feet high about four or six feet apart.

July 26.—Left camp at 7. Traveled down Bear river until noon. Found excellent feed. Crossed another branch and ascended a mountain about three miles, and then turned down about one mile almost perpendicularly to the river bottom again.

July 27.—Started out on the Bear river bottom. Traveled up the river a north course twenty-four miles. Passed beautiful springs and plenty of feed. Doctored Lion's foot twice. The springs as they make from the mountains form considerable streams. Indians are plenty. Saw Rider's team some three miles astern.

July 28.—Left camp at 7. Good water, feed and roads. Came fourteen miles to sulphur or soda springs. A trading post. Springs are a curiosity. Went on about a mile, and fed forenoon at an Indian camp. Was called to see a sick papoose. Sold five pounds of tobacco for \$2.50. Went on seven miles and camped near an Indian camp. Good feed and water.

July 29.—Broke camp at 7:30. Teams in good heart. Found good roads, feed and water. Traveled sixteen miles and crossed the head waters of Bear river. Shot two mountain hen, and encamped for the night at a spring. Feed first rate. We are just at the foot of a mountain to start with in the morning. Stream is too bad to cross. Doctored Lion's foot, and fed poor Bright.

July 30.—Left the waters of Bear river, and struck the waters of Louis river. Had rather a rough road, but the best of water and wood. Encamped, and was called to visit sick with the diarrhoea. He was taken sick in the night, from cold and bilious condition of the stomach.

July 31.—Left camp at 7:30. Roads, feed and water tolerable. Got to Fort Hall. Took supper. Found the mosquitoes so bad that it was impossible to keep the oxen or ourselves on that spot. Hitched up and came on to the fort and camped in the dust. Watched the cattle until morning.

August 1.—Left Fort Hall at 9. Sold rice, salt, soap to the traders; bought moccasins and one quart of vinegar. Came on, and crossed two branches of Lewis river. Traveled eighteen miles. Camped on a ridge among the sage. Oh, God! the mosquitoes. Drove team up on the bluff to rest. Took in George

the Second at the Fort. Sick all day and under the influence of calomel pills.

August 2.—Found team where they were when I went to bed. Drove them down on the bottom to feed. We had veal for breakfast, presented to us by a brother Mason from New Orleans. Went eight miles through the sage to a spring, and put old Lion out to rest. Started at 2, and made out fifteen miles, and encamped for the night. Passed two springs of cold water which boiled up so high as to make them a great curiosity. Passed the American Falls on Snake river.

August 3.—Started late on Lion's account. Drove two and a half miles, and he gave up the ghost. We then harnessed Nigger on the lead, and traveled on seven and one-half miles down the Snake river, and put out for the night in quite a hub-bub. George is about to leave us for California. Road is bad, full of gullies and rocks. Feed poor, sage brush all the way. Plenty of cedar shrubs along the way.

August 4.—Traveled ten miles over a rough road to Raft river, and laid up until Monday (tomorrow) morning. The boys caught a plenty of suckers. Rigged Nig's harness.

August 5.—Started late. Left the tent. Lost our water keg. Sixteen miles to water. Very warm. Took up a new bag of flour. Started at the forks of the road on the Oregon track. Road very stony. Traveled all day through the sage and dust. Encamped on a spring run with plenty of feed.

August 6.—Left camp early. Traveled eleven miles over sage and came to the river where we found plenty of feed for our cattle. Stopped three hours. Then went on to Goose Creek, eleven miles further, and camped for the night with good feed and water. Saw one wolf in the road ahead. Good roads today, and water often enough for the cattle.

August 7.—Stayed in camp and rested our team. Rider came up at night. Nigger died. Washed, etc.

August 8.—Left camp early, and found a very stony road. Traveled eighteen miles to Rocky Creek. Found poor feed for team.

August 9.—Traveled eighteen miles to the crossing of Rock creek. Got in late. Feed scarce. Were overrun with cattle and company.

August 10.—Traveled fifteen miles to where the road leaves the river bluffs. Put out and let our team graze on the bottoms until next day.

August 11.—Left early, and went over sage nine miles, coming to the river again. Then went down the bottom, occasionally raising over the bluffs, seven miles to Salmon Falls creek, then down the creek and river bottom three miles to camp. Good feed and water.

August 12.—Started at 6:30. Traveled six miles to Salmon Falls. Here we camped, and bought salmon of the Indians, and

refreshed our teams. This place is delightful. The stream is alive with fish of the first quality, and wild geese are about as tame as the natives. Soil continues barren.

August 13.—Left camp at 4 o'clock a. m., and traveled thirteen miles to the river again. Here we encamped, laying by until tomorrow morning. Had a hard time bringing water from the river, the nearest being half a mile distant and up one of the worst of bluffs.

August 14.—Started at 5 in the morning. Climbed a hard hill of sand. Came ten miles to river, then left the river and came on to it again in three miles, where the old road crosses. Then drove down the track three miles and found a good camp, and plenty of rattlesnakes. George has been sick all day. I have driven the team and am tired enough.

August 15.—Stayed in camp, aired our clothes, etc. Killed three rattlesnakes. Got information of the route from Government men packing from Oregon City. Watched team all night.

August 16.—Left at 6. Traveled down the river sixteen miles and camped. Found good feed, but a stony, hard road. The country is as barren as ever. Watched team all night.

August 17.—Left camp at 6. Came over bluffs, alternately touching the river, ten miles, to where we crossed Boone's river. There we stopped, and let our team graze. Feed best we have seen yet. Moving on again we came to the river in six miles, and encamped. Feed good and team doing well. Watched team all night.

August 18.—Left camp at 8. Came over the bluff and down the river eight miles, thence six miles to camp on the river bank. Feed very poor for team. Watched them all night. Am nearly sick, but no one knows it but myself.

August 19.—Left camp at 6. Traveled six miles over the bluffs to Cade's creek. No feed. Went on two miles further and came to bunch grass. At 11 o'clock stopped, and refreshed our animals until 1. Started again and came six miles to Burnt creek. Crossed creek and climbed the worst of all hills. Went up three times to get our load up. Took up old Brandy; overhauled wagon.

August 20.—Geared the wagon shorter. Threw overboard some of our load. Started at 7, with Brandy in Sally's place. He stood up for about three miles, when down he came, and we unyoked him and Polly and moved on with three yoke of cattle. Stopped at 11:30 and rested the team. Started at 1, and went over to the river, making 14½ miles this day. Found good feed and rested self and team.

August 21.—Cut off the wagon bed and again overhauled. Started at 8, and hurried along 6½ miles down the river to a spring, camping at noon. Good feed and plenty of company. Laid by and rested team. Bought salmon of Indians. Left this

morning a distressed family who were without team or money and nearly sick from trouble.

August 22.—Left camp at 6. Came three miles to river, and then down same eleven miles to camp. Left Brandy and Polly to die on the road. Found feed tolerable, but water scarce as soon as we were away from the river.

August 23.—Left camp at 6, and traveled to next camp, on Snake river.

August 24.—Left camp at 7. Went six miles and turned out to water and rest our teams. Put Polly in with Bright, and left Buck. Got loaded and started at 1. Came to Auhieh (Owyhee) river. Here we found excellent feed for team, and laid up until next evening. Ducks and sage hens are very plenty.

August 25.—Laid in camp with team. I went to the fort, four miles, to get more teams, but found none there. Returned at noon. Cut off more of the wagon bed and brought the wheels closer together. Left camp at 5 and went on for sulphur springs, nineteen miles ahead.

August 26.—Found ourselves this morning at 5 o'clock about nine miles from Fort Boise. Stopped and got breakfast. Found plenty of bunch grass, but no water for cattle. Stopped twice during the night and rested teams. Came about thirteen miles before we put up to rest or recruit. Plenty of feed for team, but horrible sandy roads. Fort Boise is a miserable hole, with one white man and fourteen Sandwich Island niggers.

August 27.—Found ourselves this morning on the road six miles back from Branch creek. Came on to it, and put up for the rest of the day. Here we found a place where we could stand with one foot in water hot enough for culinary purposes and the other in good, cool water to drink. Left camp at dark, for fear of Indians, and traveled until 11 o'clock, when we turned out for three hours.

August 28.—Started this morning at 2, and came on four miles to sulphur springs. Here we stopped and breakfasted ourselves and team. Then moved on ten miles to Birch creek, at 1 o'clock. Mrs. B. drove the cattle and let me take a nap in her bed. Left Birch creek, and came three and a half miles to the river.

August 29.—Left camp at 6 in the morning, and came six miles to Burnt river. Made a yoke of an old axle. Started out again at 6 in the evening, and came five miles to a branch of Burnt river.

August 30.—Started at midnight. Came on to a branch of Burnt creek. Here we laid up and rested our team and driver until half past 3 p. m., when we again started out, came four miles and camped until the moon was up, when we resumed our march.

August 31.—Started out under a favorable breeze, down hill, the team going as if the devil was at their heels, and we shot out to the Slough, eight miles, in good time. Watered and went



on a mile and fed on good grass. This makes us one hundred miles since Sunday evening at Fort Boise. Came to Powder river at 9:30.

Sunday, September 1.—Started at half past 4, after being up with team nearly all night. Came on to the Good camp at spring. On our way here at Powder river we killed a noble salmon, taking breakfast out of him, and a fine dish it was. I just wish my family had such a fish to work at. From Fort Boise 114 miles. Encamped at first spring on the Grand Ronde.

September 2.—Left camp at 6¼. Stopped and let the team feed twice before noon. Came on to the bluffs, 7½ miles at 11. Took dinner. Saw sandhill cranes and sage hens in plenty. In the Ronde found the best grass we have seen since we left home. Here we began climbing the Blue mountains, and if they don't beat the devil. Came on eight miles to Ronde river, and camped.

September 3.—On our way at 4. Came over the mountains and through a dense forest of pine, twenty miles, to camp springs. Here we overtook Richard and Thurman.

September 4.—Left camp early and traveled fifteen and a half miles to the foot of the mountains. Encamped among the Kiuse and Walla Walla Indians. Poor feed for cattle, as the Indian horses had eaten it off. Here we got peas and potatoes.

September 5.—Traded for a mare and colt and Indian dress, and came on ten miles. Paid for the things a brass kettle, two blankets, a shirt, etc.

September 6.—Left camp early and went twenty miles to second crossing of the Umatilla river. Here we found a very intelligent Indian. Good grass. Bought a fine spotted horse, which cost me \$55.

September 7.—Stayed in camp until about dark, when we started out, going eight miles, to a place on the Umatilla river. Good grass, wood and water.

September 8.—Sunday. Came to the Columbia river, twenty miles, through the sand all the way. This night I had my horse stolen. I was taken about sunset with the dysentery, which prostrated me very much.

September 9.—Started in search of my horse before it was light. Found he had been stolen. Put out and left and came down the Columbia twelve miles. Encamped alone, with good feed, wood and water.

September 10.—Left at 6, and came on seventeen miles to a creek. Feed rather scarce. I drove all day. George came up at night from hunting the horse.

September 11.—Left at 6½. Came nineteen miles. Camped on the Columbia at the island. Feed poor, but sand plenty.

September 12.—Traveled about fifteen miles. Camped on a creek. Came up some of the worst bluffs on the road.

September 13.—Came sixteen miles, to the river five miles above the falls. Road better. No feed.



September 14.—Left early. Crossed falls of the river and came on to a creek six miles from the Dalles. Encamped for good. Came to the conclusion that the team would never stand driving over the Cascade mountains.

September 15.—Left the team at the creek. Went to the Dalles and got some flour of Government officers at 25 cents a pound, and salt pork at 12½ cents.

September 16.—Drove to the Dalles. Sold the cattle to a Mr. Wilson for \$110, and prepared to start for Portland down the river. Let George have \$5. Set up nearly all night and watched the goods.

September 17.—Loaded up our boat and left. Paid \$17 for freight and passage. Left the wagon with Nathan Olney, to be forwarded to Portland as soon as practicable. Came down about fifteen miles and landed for the night. We buried a child which we found upon the bank of the river, drowned.

September 18.—Started at daylight. Came four miles and landed for breakfast; then ran down to the Cascade falls, landed, and camped for the night.

September 19.—Hired a team and got our goods down below the rapids. Engaged Chenoweth to start out with us immediately, but he, being a scoundrel, did not do as he agreed, and we were obliged to stay until next morning.

September 20.—Hired an Indian to carry us down in his canoe to Fort Vancouver. We had a hard time, in consequence of the Indian being so damned lazy. By rowing all the way myself we got to the fort at 1 in the morning as wet as the devil.

September 21.—Got a room and put up our things to dry. Found a gentleman in the person of Mr. Brooks.

September 22.—Left the fort with two Indians, who took us down the Columbia thirty-eight miles to the mouth of the Cowlitz and up the Cowlitz two miles to Judge Burbee's, in good season. Here we were kindly received, and treated as if old acquaintances.

September 23.—Left the Judge's loaded with kindness, and under pole came up the Cowlitz, which is a very hard stream to ascend. Encamped for the night under the protecting shade of lofty fir and hemlock trees. Slept very little.

September 24.—Set sail again under an ash breeze, and came to Plomondon's landing about noon. Obtained horses and started out ten miles to Mr. J. R. Jackson's where we were received very kindly and kept free over night.

September 25.—With an early start, made our way twenty miles to Mr. S. S. Ford's for dinner. From this we made our way through dense forest and uneven plain twenty-five miles to M. T. Simmons's, our place of destination, where we were received with that degree of brotherly kindness which seemed to rest our weary limbs, and promise an asylum for us in our worn-out pilgrimage.

The journey across the continent was a hard one to all. There was constant struggle and suffering; fear of Indians, Mormons; deep and turbulent rivers; mountain climbings and starvation; worry unceasing concerning the animals and vehicles of the train, and of the wandering and helpless members of the family; uncertainty as to the future, that at times became distressing; dirt everywhere; sickness and disease, and frequently death. The immigrants tired of themselves and tired of each other. Stretching out these unhappy conditions for a period of four or five months, as but faintly portrayed in diaries such as the foregoing, drove some of the participants into suicide, others into insanity, and left many a physical wreck for whom there was no possibility of recovery.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

## SOME EVIDENCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ARMY, 1861-5.

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Political pressure began on the army before the battle of Bull Run. The enlisted men were mustered in for only three months and "General Scott is urged not to lose their services, but to get into Richmond before they are disbanded."<sup>1</sup> The political leaders looked upon the war as a short affair and really compelled the military men to move "On to Richmond." This cry forced Scott to go before he was ready and partly accounts for the panic after the battle.<sup>2</sup>

When McClellan took charge of the army it was in a pretty badly demoralized condition. "The best troops in the world officered as these were by the vicious system of election, would fail the best general."<sup>3</sup> McClellan says they roamed around Washington at will and were drunken and disorderly.<sup>4</sup> Sherman contradicts this in part, saying, "We had a good organization, good men, but no cohesion, no real discipline, no respect for authority, no real knowledge of war."<sup>5</sup> He is the only one I have found who is willing to say anything in favor of the organization, while Russell contradicts this. It may be questioned how there could be a good organization and at the same time no respect for authority. "When I assumed command it was clear that a prompt advance was wholly impracticable. \* \* \* I repeat that it was not worthy to be called an army."<sup>6</sup> McClellan lays due emphasis upon the disastrous effects that defeat had on the army, for in this is his justification for slowness. Michie says his task was full of difficulties, "especially is this so in a government by the people where newspaper editors and other self-constituted exponents of public opinion are first in the field with their impatient suggestions; the personal influence, exerted through potent political leaders, for rank and command can not always be ignored."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Russell, Wm. H. "My Diary North and South." 147.

<sup>2</sup> Russell, 146; Sherman, W. T. "Memoirs of Gen. Sherman," I, 207.

<sup>3</sup> Michie, Peter S. "General McClellan," 99.

<sup>4</sup> McClellan, Geo. B. "McClellan's Own Story," 68.

<sup>5</sup> Sherman. I. 210.

<sup>6</sup> McClellan, 71.

<sup>7</sup> Michie, 101.

McClellan now began by patient work to create his army but he did not get it created before the politicians got ready to use it, and his further insistence on delay paved the way for discontent.<sup>1</sup> McClellan kept his councils to himself and kept on at his work and his drilling. That he was making an efficient army is generally admitted, though Sherman, and Nicolay and Hay try to cast doubt on it.<sup>2</sup>

At any rate the country wanted him to do something, and by December 1st President Lincoln became nervous and submitted a plan of campaign to McClellan. In December McClellan fell sick and the President called in various military men to get their opinions on his plan. They all agreed it was a good one. McClellan got well and attended one of these conferences. He treated the whole matter with coolness, and this aroused Chase, who asked him point blank what he intended to do and when he was going to do it. McClellan gave Chase to understand it was none of his business, but satisfied Lincoln that he had a plan in mind.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime there was a strong demand made on the President and cabinet that something be done.<sup>4</sup> "Instead of one mind there were many minds influencing the management of military affairs."<sup>5</sup> McClellan made no move except to disagree with the President on the plan suggested and finally Lincoln ordered the army to move by February 22nd. Whether or not McClellan was justified in waiting until he felt his army was satisfactory is a question that military men do not agree upon. At any rate McClellan felt so justified and was "the only one who did not seem to feel the full force of the public demand."<sup>6</sup>

Barnard, McClellan's chief engineer, says McClellan should have made a light draft of men and "should do something."<sup>7</sup> Granting that no great movement could be made during the winter, he should do something or "he would find himself virtually destitute of power to carry out his plans when the moment proper for such a movement should arrive, and so it happened."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Webb, A. S. "The Peninsula Campaign of 1862." 12.

<sup>2</sup> Sherman, I, 220; Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln." IV, 444.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolay and Hay, V. 158; Webb, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolay and Hay, V. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Webb, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Webb, 172.

<sup>7</sup> Barnard, J. G. "Peninsula Campaign," 8.

<sup>8</sup> Barnard.

But it was something like Bull Run that McClellan feared. Before he moved, "half of Congress was opposed to McClellan's plan and looked on him with distrust.\* \* \* When the army was to go by Annapolis, I felt confident that one-half would no sooner be embarked than the other would be ordered back to Washington," and he adds: "No one living in Washington could doubt this."<sup>1</sup> Webb thinks McClellan did not show dash enough to hold confidence. He further thinks "he did not give to the will of the President and the demands of the people the weight to which they were entitled,"<sup>2</sup> but in view of the fact that neither President nor people knew anything about war, it is plainly a question how far he should rely on them.

"And now it came to be commented upon that McClellan's adherents were men who were politically opposed to the administration. On the other hand the radical leaders who desired speedy action found that other generals were not in accord with the commanding general's policy of inaction."<sup>3</sup> Lord Lyons wrote his home government November 17, 1862, that McClellan was regarded as the representative of the conservative principle in the army.<sup>4</sup> By mixing political convictions with professional obligations, he "cut from under his feet that firm political support which was so essential for a continuance in active military command."<sup>5</sup>

"All the so-called interference, all the real interference with McClellan's plans—all the want of confidence in his ability as a leader of an active army—all the want of faith in his intentions to fully support the views of the government, arose from the belief that in and about McClellan's headquarters there was a lack of faith in the government and of sympathy with the administration."<sup>6</sup> Whatever the cause it seems pretty conclusive that the radical leaders having failed to force McClellan to attack the Southern army, now sought to discredit him, and, possibly, as he claims, ruin him. "Having failed to force me to advance at a time when an advance would have been madness, they withheld the means of success when I came in contact with the enemy."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barnard, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Webb, 169, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Michie, 156.

<sup>4</sup> Barnard, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Michie, 472.

<sup>6</sup> Webb, 169.

<sup>7</sup> McClellan, 150.



Blenker's division was first taken away from him and assigned to Fremont's new mountain division.<sup>1</sup> Lincoln wrote McClellan in a letter dated March 31, 1862, "if you could know the full pressure of the case I am sure you would justify it."<sup>2</sup> Later on McDowell's corps was taken from McClellan and of this Webb says: "The government (for it was not Lincoln alone, but Secretaries Chase and Stanton and Generals Hitchcock and Thomas, and whoever else were in the secret council) the government, we repeat, was responsible for this state of things."<sup>3</sup> He then goes on to say Washington could be defended without these men and that if McClellan kept the Rebels active Washington was in no danger. Without them there was no show for McClellan to keep the Rebels occupied.<sup>4</sup> Webb calls it the greatest blunder that could have been permitted. "But with a blind indifference to whatever might result from it these men persuaded the President to cripple the army sent out on a special mission \* \* \* and did everything to insure disaster to the Peninsula Campaign."<sup>5</sup> Webb also complains that McClellan was further hindered by appointing foreigners on his staff to the exclusion of intelligent Americans. This was done he claims by the government.<sup>6</sup> McCulloch seems to think politics had something to do with McClellan's retirement, for he speaks of it as a political necessity, and Pinkerton, who was closely associated with McClellan, says he was "subjected to the prosecutions of the most malignant political intriguers."<sup>7</sup>

Speaking of Secretary Cameron, McClellan says: "I could not always dispose of arms and supplies as I thought the good of the service demanded. For instance, when a shipment of unusually good arms arrived from Europe, and I wished them for the army of the Potomac, I found that they had been promised to some political friend. As I had no idea who might be selected in Mr. Cameron's place and as he supported me in purely military affairs, I objected to his removal and saved him." But he was later removed. "Instead of using his (Stanton's) new position to assist me he threw every obstacle in my way, and did all in his power to create difficulty and distrust between

<sup>1</sup> Michie, 228, 286.

<sup>2</sup> Greeley, Horace. "American Conflict," II, 129.

<sup>3</sup> Webb, 178.

<sup>4</sup> Barnard, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Webb, 179.

<sup>6</sup> Webb, 184.

<sup>7</sup> Pinkerton. "The Spy of the Rebellion," 458.

the President and myself. \* \* \* Before I actually commenced the Peninsula Campaign I had lost that cordial support of the Executive which was necessary to attain success.”<sup>1</sup> Michie says Stanton “was always a potent factor in the conduct of military operations,” and “unable to understand the cause of McClellan’s inactivity, he soon became an active ally of the committee on the conduct of the war and opposed, though not always openly, McClellan’s plan of campaign.”<sup>2</sup>

After the conference held between McClellan, McDowell, Franklin, Chase, Stanton and Lincoln, in which the President’s plan was discussed, “the lines were more closely drawn between those who defended and those who opposed him (McClellan), many men of influence in the councils of the nation publicly assailed him, vigorously denounced his lethargy and incapacity, and some even went so far as to question the purity of his motives by expressing doubt as to his loyalty.” “The committee on the conduct of the war was casting discredit upon him and undermining his influence in the suggestions and doubts promulgated during the examination of his subordinates.”<sup>3</sup> “But Stanton’s intemperate haste to have the army move somehow or somewhere gave the latter (McClellan) the opportunity to get his army away from the politicians at Washington, which his controlling desire too eagerly embraced at the sacrifice of his usual prudence and cool judgment.”<sup>4</sup> Webb also traces the influence of this committee and says the chairman, Wade, “demanded” that the blockade of the Potomac be raised and “used pretty strong and emphatic language” on the subject in the presence of the Secretary of War and General McClellan. Well might McClellan refer to “geese” in high places. Michie speaks of the committee on the conduct of the war as men “without military education” who soon felt “sufficient confidence in their military perception” to not need military education.<sup>5</sup> The committee was “composed of men not only ignorant but unconscious of their ignorance.” They soon had plans of their own which they soon found witnesses to fortify. They were of “restless activity and radical views,” convinced “that acts of Congress could create disciplined armies out of patriotic volunteers with-

<sup>1</sup> McClellan, 152-4.

<sup>2</sup> Michie, 167-8.

<sup>3</sup> Michie, 184-5; 199.

<sup>4</sup> Michie, 213.

<sup>5</sup> Michie, 165.

out having recourse to the time requisite to organize, drill and discipline them." These men powerfully influenced the President and the Cabinet and the country. Through this committee the President was influenced to organize the Army of the Potomac into four corps. McClellan protested and wanted him to wait till the men had seen service in the field, but the President would not wait.<sup>1</sup>

After the battle of Williamsburg, McClellan asked permission to remove the corps commanders for incompetence. There were but three corps with him then. Lincoln writes him: "I am constantly told that you have no consultation with them (Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes). When you relieved General Hamilton \* \* \* you lost one of your best friends in the Senate. But to return; are you strong enough—are you strong enough even with my help—to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes at once?"<sup>2</sup>

There seems to have been a general tendency among military men to ask for everything in sight. McClellan's trouble with guns has been cited. Sherman went to Indiana to get troops for the Kentucky army and found the Indiana people equipping and fitting out men, "but they were called for as fast as mustered in, either for the army of McClellan or Fremont." At Springfield he found the same general activity, "but these men had also been promised to Fremont."<sup>3</sup> "Since that time (November, 1861) he (Fremont) had been without a command. I believed, as did many others, that political intrigue was keeping Fremont back."<sup>4</sup>

Stanton answered Dana February 1, 1862, and says: "The pressure of members of Congress for clerk and army appointments \* \* \* and the persistent strain against all measures essential to obtain time for thought, combination and conference, is discouraging in the extreme—it often tempts me to quit the helm in despair. When Stanton went into the War Department there was great dissatisfaction in the Tribune office with McClellan."<sup>5</sup> Any one who will read Dana's *Recollections* will, I think, become convinced that too much weight was laid on the opinion of one man, be he ever so good and true.

<sup>1</sup> Webb, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Michie, 282-3.

<sup>3</sup> Sherman, I, 222.

<sup>4</sup> Dana, C. A. "Recollections of the Civil War." 5.

<sup>5</sup> Dana, 6-8.

McClermand, an Illinois Democrat, was placed in command by Lincoln for the political effect he had on the Illinois Democrats and the country generally. Grant kept him as long as he could for exactly the same reason. Though, if Dana is correct, he was incompetent and Grant knew it.<sup>1</sup>

Rhodes tells how McClure tried to have Lincoln remove Grant and claimed to represent the friends of the administration, but I could get no more facts on this point than Rhodes gives.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Benj. F. Butler, President Lincoln would not tell Butler why he was removed from New Orleans. It surely was not from lack of confidence, for Lincoln offered to Butler Grant's command and several others. At least so Butler says. The Rebels knew Butler was to be removed long before Butler or his superior did, and Greeley says "it is probable that the French Minister, whose government had been displeased with General Butler's management in New Orleans, was the immediate source of rebel assurance on this point."<sup>3</sup> Butler blamed the French Minister and it seems strange that if Butler did wrong, Lincoln should be afraid to say so.

John M. Schofield's is the only other case I found where charges of political influence were made. Schofield was recommended for a Major-Generalship. He was recommended by President Lincoln, the Secretary of War, Generals Halleck, Grant and Sherman, but the military committee of the Senate reported against him. His friend Senator J. B. Henderson writes to him and tells him "to whip somebody anyhow." Schofield replied April 15, 1864, and says: "No doubt I might easily get up a little claptrap on which to manufacture newspaper notoriety and convince the Senate of the United States that I had won a great victory and secure my confirmation. Such things have been done, alas, too frequently during this war. \* \* \* I answer that when the management of military affairs is left to military men, the rebellion will be put down very quickly, and not before. I rather think if you let Grant alone, and let him have his own way, he will end the war this year." By way of introduction to the subject he says: "To have pleased the radical politicians of that day would have been enough to have ruined any soldier."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dana, 32, 59, 90.

<sup>2</sup> Rhodes' *History of U. S.*, III, '628; McClure, A. K. "Lincoln and War Times," 179.

<sup>3</sup> Greeley, II, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Schofield, J. M. "Forty-Six Years in the Army," 117-119.

And again, "There has been much irrelevant discussion about the ability or inability of commanders in the North and South. The fact is that political instead of military ideas control in a very large degree the selection of commanders in the Union armies; while for three whole years the authorities in Washington could not see the necessity of unity of action in all the armies under one military leader. It required three years of costly experience to teach the government that simple lesson taught in military text books. As experience finally proved, there was no lack of men capable of leading even large armies to victory, but, with few exceptions, they were not put in command until many others had been tried. Information as to military fitness was not sought from military sources."<sup>1</sup>

EDWARD McMAHON.

<sup>1</sup> Schofield, J. M., 517.



## DOCUMENTS.

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It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare or unpublished documents that throw side lights upon the history of the Pacific Northwest.

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### Echo of the Dred Scott Decision.

The writer of the following letter was the first United States Surveyor General for Washington Territory, serving from 1853 to 1860. During the Indian wars of 1855 and 1856 he also served as Adjutant General of the Washington Territory Volunteers. It is well known that Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, brought his slave York to the northwest in 1805. There may have been other slaves here from time to time but this letter reveals the only other authentic record known to the present editor.

Olympia, Ter. Wash.  
Sept. 30th, 1860.

Hon. H. M. McGill,  
Acting Governor of W. T.

Sir:

As a citizen of the United States and of Washington Territory, I beg to call your attention to an act or acts of the British authorities of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, by which a slave Boy belonging to my relative R. R. Gibson, of Talbot County, Maryland, and for the last 5 years hired and employed by myself, by arrangement with the owner, was taken from the Mail Steamer, plying between this port and all the ports of Pugets Sound.

On the 24th of Sept. the slave secreted himself on board the Mail Steamer "Eliza Anderson" and on the 25th as the steamer touched at port of Victoria, was boarded by the civil authorities there and the slave forcibly taken therefrom.

I therefore respectfully request that you bring the case before our Government at Washington City, to the end that the owner or the slave may have justice and the flag of our country be vindicated and relieved from the assumption of right of search, thus made and enforced in this case.

I am Sir,

Very Respectfully,

JAMES TILTON.

**Northern Emigrant Route.**

Fayette McMullin was third Governor appointed for Washington Territory, but J. Patton Anderson, who was appointed to succeed Governor Isaac I. Stevens in 1857, did not qualify, and so Mr. McMullin was the second actual Governor of the Territory. The following letter is a copy of one he wrote to the Secretary of War. It is among the collections in the Library of the University of Washington.

Territory of Washington,  
Executive Office,  
Olympia, November 28th, 1857.

Hon. John B. Floyd,  
Secretary of War.

Sir:

I herewith transmit to the Department for your consideration "Joint Resolutions of the Legislative Assembly of this Territory passed at the Session of 1855-56," concerning the protection of settlers and emigrants between the Mississippi Valleys and the Pacific Ocean," etc. etc.

The intense hostility of all the Indian tribes of the prairies in the vicinity of, and for some distance to the north of the usual route traveled by emigrants, leading up the great Platte river, by way of Fort Laramie, and from thence to Oregon by way of Fort Hall, and of all the tribes to the south of this route, instigated as they are by, and likely to remain under the influence of the Mormons in Utah, with whom the United States are about to be involved in serious difficulties, together with the recent horrible massacre of a whole train of emigrants, men, women and children, numbering 118 souls, indicates in my judgment the great necessity of a safer and better route for emigrants from the Atlantic States, by land, to the territories of Oregon and Washington.

From the most reliable information I can gain it is believed that the Northern route, leaving the Mississippi at some point in Minnesota and proceeding over the plains of the upper Missouri to Ft. Benton and thence across the Rocky Mountains to the valleys of the Columbia and to Puget Sound, offers the safest and shortest route to our North West Pacific possessions.

Grass, wood and water, the three great essential requisites, in making the overland journey to this Coast, are said to be found on this trail in greater abundance than the routes farther south.

Of the entire feasibility of that portion of the route leading through the plains of Minnesota and Nebraska, to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, there can be no possible doubt. Of the character of the country from thence across the mountains, through the valley of the Bitter Root or St. Mary's Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, and Walla Walla country, I beg to refer you to

the extracts given from Governor Stevens' Report and in my letter published in the Pioneer and Democrat, a copy of which I herewith transmit to you.

I am Sir truly and respectfully,

Your obt. st.,

F. McMULLIN,

Gov. Ter. Wash.

P. S.—I have to request that you will present my kindest regards to Mrs. Floyd and to remember me kindly to my friends and late colleagues from Virginia, and accept for yourself my sincere wishes for your welfare and success in the important Dept. over which you preside.

I hope to hear from you at your leisure.

F. McM.

### **Beginnings of the Canal.**

The following letter is interesting in the light of recent developments in the case of the building of a canal from tide water to Lake Washington. James Scott was Secretary of the Territory from 1870 to 1872. James McNaught afterwards gained a national reputation as counsel for the Northern Pacific Railroad Company.

Seattle, W. T., Jan. 6th, 1871.

Dr. J. Scott, Sect.

Sir:

I herewith send you articles of incorporation of "The Lake Washington Canal Company." Please file them in your office and send bill to me and oblige

Your obt. servt.

J. McNAUGHT.

While the above seems as though it might be the very inception of efforts to build the canal, mention should here be made of a still earlier effort. John Pike, for whom Pike Street in Seattle was named, was the architect and builder of the famous old Territorial University building now being used as the temporary home of the Seattle Public Library. He had a son Harvey Pike, who was both enterprising and energetic. About 1860 Harvey Pike began to dig a canal at the "Portage," to connect Lake Washington and Lake Union. For many years the evidence of this beginning could have been seen, but the work proved too great and was abandoned.

**Pickett Grateful for Recognition.**

Henry M. McGill was Secretary of the Territory of Washington from 1857 to 1860 and during that time George E. Pickett, who later led the famous "charge at Gettysburg" was in command at Fort Bellingham and on San Juan Island.

Sir :

Fort Bellingham, W. T.  
Jany. 25th, 1860.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt (to day) of your communication of the 19th inst. enclosing the "Resolution" of Legislature of this Territory so highly flattering to myself.

You will understand me when I say it is one of the proudest days of my life. Allow me to extend my thanks for your courtesy and kindness in announcing this most pleasing intelligence.

I remain Sir

Very Respty.,

Your obt. servt.,

G. E. PICKETT

Hon Henry M. McGill,

Capt. 9th Infy. U. S. Army.

Secretary of Washington Territory,

Olympia, W. T.

The resolution referred to was as follows :

Resolved, by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That the thanks of the people of this Territory are due Captain Pickett, U. S. A., for the gallant and firm discharge of his duties under the most trying circumstances on the Island of San Juan.

Passed January 11th, 1860.

**Decapitation of Colonel Ebey.**

The following resolution is reproduced from the rather rare archives of the Territorial government, because the good work of Captain Charles Dodd is nearly always overlooked in the published stories of the murder of Colonel Ebey by Northern Indians :

Whereas, Col. Isaac N. Ebey, one of our most esteemed fellow citizens, was ruthlessly murdered by a band of savages residing in Russian America, in the month of August, A. D. 1857 ; and

Whereas, Said Col. Isaac N. Ebey was brutally murdered at his residence on Whidby's Island, during the month aforesaid, and his head dissevered from his body and carried off as a bloody trophy by said band of savages, known by the name of "Kakes," and residing in Russian America ; and

Whereas, Captain Charles Dodd, a brave and gallant mariner, and commander of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "Labouchere," did risk his life and that of his crew, as well as the loss of his steamer, in his attempt to recover from said tribe of savages the bloody relic above mentioned, that he might thus be enabled to restore the same to the family of his murdered friend, Col. Ebey; and

Whereas, Capt. Dodd, after a long and tedious negotiation, did, in the fall of 1859, succeed in getting said savages to surrender to him the sad relic of Indian trophy, which he placed in the hands of A. M. Poe, Esq., to be by him delivered to the family of said deceased Col. I. N. Ebey; therefore

Be it Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That the thanks of this Legislative Assembly be, and the same are hereby tendered to Capt. Charles Dodd, for his bravery, gallantry, and acts of humanity, in having hazarded his own life and that of his crew, and the probable destruction of his vessel, in his untiring endeavors to procure the scalp of the lamented Col. Isaac N. Ebey.

Resolved, That his Excellency, the Governor of Washington Territory, be requested to forward to Capt. Charles Dodd, at Victoria, British Columbia, a copy of these resolutions.

Passed January 20th, 1860.

### **Sovereign Americans on San Juan Island.**

The following document in the collection of the University of Washington is self-explanatory. It will be noted that the date is some eight years before the San Juan dispute was arbitrated by Emperor William I. of Germany. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling or grammar in the document:

#### **NOTICE.**

According to the wish of Captain Bissell as expressed to me I hereby request the citizens of this Island to meet at Frazers house in the woods on the road to the garrison on Sunday February 1st. for the purpose of making such Laws as we shall deem necessary for the Settlement of differences between Settlers concerning Land Claims and for the Enforcement of good order upon the Island.

San Juan Island  
Jany 22nd. 1863

E. T. HAMBLETT  
Copy by

Wm. Carny

San Juan Isld W. T.

At a meeting of the Citizens of San Juan Isld on the first day of Feby 1863 for the purpose of Establishing a Criterion by which the American Citizens of this Isld should be governed Esqr



Hamblet was called to the chair and M. W. Offutt appointed Secretary

On motion a committee was appointed to Make Resolutions Wm Smith I. E. Higgins C. McCoy Hibbard and James Blake were appointed said committee Said committee Reported preamble and Resolutions which were unannously adopted On motion the thanks of the Meeting attended to the President & Secitary.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

Feby 1st. 1863.

M. W. Offutt Secy

E. T. HAMBLETT Prest

Preamble and Resolutions adopted by the American Citizens of San Juan Island Washington Territory at a meeting held on the first day of February A D 1863 at the sugestion of Captain Bissell Commanding United States forces at Camp Pickett for the purpose of making laws by which they would be governed

Whereas Under the organic act of the Congress of the United States for the Establishment of the Territorial Government of Washington the first Legeslature Assembly in 1854 passed an act including the Island of San Juan as a part of Whatcom County and Whereas that act was duly submitted to Congress and has not been disaproved of we therefore cannot but regard it as the law of the land and Whereas we wish to be known as loyal Citizens of the United States avoiding even the Semblance of Secession Therefore be it resolved

1st. That we will be governed by the laws provided us by the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory and the United States and that we will at all times cheerfully recognise the lawfully constituted athorities of the Teritory and when necessary aid them in the discharge of their duties.

2nd. That we cannot concur with Captain Bissell in thinking that he is our Govrnor or that he has the power to authorize us to make laws by which we will be governed it being evident to us that according\* to the arraignment made by General Scot and His Excellency Gov Douglas the military were placed here to exercise a Police Supervision over the Citizens and Subjects of therer respective Governments and to aid the Civil authorities of those Governments in enforcing the laws upon their respective subjects and Citizens or in protecting them in their lives property and all the rights to which they are entitled

3rd. That any Citizen of the United States who has or may preempt a land Claim on this Island perform acts upon it that shows occupancy in good faith shall be protected by us in his rights if interfered with during his absence.

4th. That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent

to the Governor of our to General Wright Captain Bissell and to the Editors of the Washington Standerd.

E. T. HAMBLETT Prest

M. W. OFFUTT Secy

Wm C. Copyed

His Excellency Gov. Pickering. Sir the citizens San Juan Island have requested me to forward the above to you for your consideration We all think that we ought to be entitled to some of the privileges of our common Country. Yours with all respect J. E. Higgins P. M.

✱

The document is regularly backed for filing and, in addition, these words are written in pencil: "The Island is under the supervision of the Military authorities. Consequently the civil authorities have no right to collect Taxes."

### **First Attempt to Ascend Mount Rainier.**

Clarence B. Bagley, in his little book called "In the Beginning," has rescued from the unknown a large array of facts. Miss Jennie W. Tolmie, daughter of Dr. W. F. Tolmie, copied from her father's diary and sent to Mr. Bagley the following entries, which tell of the first attempt by white man to ascend Mount Rainier. The trip was a botanizing expedition, and as such was a success, while the attempt to reach the summit of the great mountain was a failure. The diary is also remarkable in that it speaks of glaciers.

Professor Israel Cook Russell, of the University of Michigan, in his book on "Glaciers of North America," page 62, says: "In the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences for March 6th, 1871, it is stated by Professor George Davidson that Lieutenant, afterward General, August V. Kautz attempted the ascent of Mount Rainier in 1857, but found his way barred by a great glacier. So far as can be ascertained, no published account of Kautz's observations has appeared, but from Davidson's statement it seems that he first reported the existence of living glaciers in the United States."

It is now seen from this diary that Doctor Tolmie discovered the Rainier glaciers twenty-four years before the trip made by Lieutenant Kautz.

Present day mountain climbers will find this extract from the old diary to be full of interest.

August 27, 1833. Obtained Mr. Herron's consent to making a botanizing excursion to Mt. Rainier, for which he has allowed 10 days. Have engaged two horses from a chief living in that quarter, who came here tonight, and Lachalet is to be my guide. Told the Indians I am going to Mt. Rainier to gather herbs of which to make medicine, part of which is to be sent to Britain and part retained in case intermittent fever should visit us when I will prescribe for the Indians.

Aug. 28. A tremendous thunder storm occurred last night, succeeded by torrents of rain. The thunder was very hard, and the lightning flashing completely enlightened my apartment. Have been chatting with Mr. Herron about colonizing Whidby's Island, a project of which he is at present quite full—more anon. No horses have appeared. Understand that the mountain is four days' journey distant—the first of which can only be performed on horseback. If they do not appear tomorrow I shall start with Lachalet on foot.

Aug. 29. Prairie 8 miles N. of home. Sunset. Busy making arrangements for journey, and while thus occupied the guide arrived with 3 horses. Started about 3, mounted on a strong iron grey, my companions disposing of themselves on the other two horses, except one, who walked. We were 6 in number. I have engaged Lachalet for a blanket, and his nephew, Lashima, for ammunition to accompany me and Nuckalkut and Poyalip (whom I took for a native of Mt. Rainier) with 2 horses to be guide on the mountain after leaving the horse track, and Quilliliaish, his relative, a very active, strong fellow, has volunteered to accompany me. The Indians are all in great hopes of killing elk and chevriel (deer), and Lachalet has already been selling and promising the grease he is to get. It is in a great measure the expectation of finding game that urges them to undertake the journey. Cantered slowly along the prairie and are now at the residence of Nuckalkut's father, under the shade of a lofty pine, in a grassy amphitheatre, beautifully interspersed and surrounded with oaks, and through the gaps in the circle we see the broad plain extending southwards to Nisqually. In a hollow immediately behind is a small lake whose surface is almost one sheet of water lillies about to flower. Have supped on sallals; at dusk shall turn in.

Aug. 30. Sandy beach of Poyallipa River. Slept ill last night, and as I dozed in the morning was aroused by a stroke across the thigh from a large decayed branch which fell from the pine overshadowing us. A drizzling rain fell during most of the night. Got up about dawn, and finding thigh stiff and painful thought a stop put to the journey, but after moving about it felt easier. Started about sunrise, I mounted on a spirited brown mare, the

rest on passable animals, except Nuckalkut, who bestrode a foal. Made a northeasterly course through prairie. Breakfasted on bread, sallal, dried cockles and a small piece of cheviel saved from the last night's repast of my companions (for I cannot call them attendants). The points of wood now became broader, and the intervening plain degenerated into prairions. Stopped about 1 P. M. at the abode of 3 Lekatat families, who met us rank and file at the door to shake hands. Their sheds were made of bark resting on a horizontal pole, supported at each end by tripods, and showed an abundance of elk's flesh dried within. Two kettles were filled with this, and, after smoking, my Indians made a savage repast on the meat and bouillon, Lachalet saying it was the Indian custom to eat a great deal at once and afterwards abstain for a time; he, however, has twice eaten since 11. Traded some dried meat for 4 balls and 3 rings, and mounting, rode off in the midst of a heavy shower. Ascended and descended at different times several steep banks and passed through dense and tangled thickets, occasionally coming on a prairie. The soil throughout was of the same nature as that of Nusqually. After descending a very steep bank came to the Poyallipa. Lashima carried the baggage across on his head. Rode to the opposite side through a rich alluvial soil plain, 3 or 4 miles in length and  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 1 in breadth. It is covered with fern about 8 feet high in some parts. Passed through woods and crossed river several times. About 7 P. M. dismounted and the horses and accoutrements were left in a wood at the river's brink. Started now on foot for a house Nuckalkut knew, and after traversing woods and twice crossing the torrents "on the unsteady-footing" of a log, arrived at the house, which was a deserted one, and encamped on the dry part of the river bed, along which our course lies tomorrow. The poyallipa flows rapidly and is about 10 or 12 yards broad. Its banks are high and covered with lofty cedars and pines. The water is of a dirty white colour, being impregnated with white clay. Lachalet has tonight been trying to persuade me from going to the snow on the mountains.

Aug. 31. Slept well, and in the morning two salmon were caught, on which we are to breakfast before starting. After breakfast Quilliliaish stuck the gills and sound of the fish on a spit which stood before the fire, so that the next comer might know that salmon could be obtained there. Have traveled nearly the whole day through a wood of cedar and pine, surface very uneven, and after ascending the bed of river a couple of miles are now encamped about ten yards from its margin in the wood. Find myself very inferior to my companions in the power of enduring fatigue. Their pace is a smart trot which soon obliges me to rest. The waters of the Poyallipa are still of the same colour. Can see a short distance up two lofty hills covered with wood. Evening cloudy and rainy. Showery all day.

Sunday, Sept. 1. Bank of Poyallipa river. It has rained all



night and is now, 6 A. M., pouring down. Are a good deal sheltered by the trees. My companions are all snoozing. Shall presently arouse them and hold a council of war. The prospect is very discouraging. Our provisions will be expended and Lachalet said he thought the river would be too high to be fordable in either direction. Had dried meat boiled in a cedar bark kettle for breakfast. I got rigged out in green blanket without trousers, in Indian style, and trudged on through the wood. Afterward exchanged blanket with Lachalet for Ouvrie's capot, which has been on almost every Indian at Nusqually. However, I found it more convenient than the blanket. Our course lay up the river, which we crossed frequently. The bed is clayey in most parts. Saw the sawbill duck once or twice and I fired twice, unsuccessfully. Have been flanked on both sides with high, pineclad hills for some miles. A short distance above encampment snow can be seen. It having rained almost incessantly, have encamped under shelving bank which has been undermined by the river. Immense stones, only held in place by dried roots, form the roof, and the floor is very rugged. Have supped on berries, which, when heated with stones in kettle, taste like lozenges. Propose tomorrow to ascend one of the snowy peaks above.

Sept. 2. Summit of a snowy peak immediately under Rainier. Passed a very uncomfortable night in our troglodite mansion. Ascended the river for 3 miles to where it was shut in by amphitheatre of mountains and could be seen bounding over a lofty precipice above. Ascended that which showed most snow. Our track lay at first through a dense wood of pine, but we afterwards emerged into an exuberantly verdant gully, closed on each side by lofty precipices. Followed gully to near the summit and found excellent berries in abundance. It contained very few Alpine plants. Afterwards came to a grassy mound, where the sight of several decayed trees induced us to encamp. After tea I set out with Lachalet and Nuckalkut for the summit, which was ankle deep with snow for  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile downwards. The summit terminated in abrupt precipice northwards and bearing N. E. from Mt. Rainier, the adjoining peak. The mists were at times very dense, but a puff of S. W. wind occasionally dispelled them. On the S. side of Poyallipa is a range of snow-dappled mountains, and they, as well as that on the N. side, terminate in Mt. Rainier. Collected a vasculum of plants at the snow, and having examined and packed them shall turn in. Thermometer at base, 54 deg., at summit of ascent, 47 deg.

Sept. 3. Woody islet on Poyallipa. It rained heavily during night, but about dawn the wind shifting to the N. E. dispersed the clouds and frost set in. Lay shivering all night and roused my companions twice to rekindle the fire. At sunrise, accompanied by Quilliliaish, went to the summit and found the tempr. of the air 33 deg. The snow was spangled and sparkled brightly in the bright sunshine. It was crisp and only yielded a couple of inches



to the pressure of foot in walking. Mt. Rainier appeared surpassingly splendid and magnificent; it bore, from the peak on which I stood, S. S. E., and was separated from it only by a narrow glen, whose sides, however, were formed by inaccessible precipices. Got all my bearings correctly to-day, the atmosphere being clear and every object distinctly perceived. The river flows at first in a northerly direction from the mountain. The snow on the summit of the mountain adjoining Rainier on western side of Poyallipa is continuous with that of latter, and thus the S. Western aspect of Rainier seemed the most accessible. By ascending the first mountain through a gully on its northern side, you reach the eternal snow of Rainier, and for a long distance afterwards the ascent is very gradual, but then it becomes abrupt in the sugar-loaf form assumed by the mountain. Its eastern side is steep on its northern aspect. A few small glaciers were seen on the conical portion; below that the mountain is composed of bare rock, apparently volcanic, which about 50 yards in breadth reaches from the snow to the valley beneath and is bounded on each side by bold bluff crags scantily covered with stunted pines. Its surface is generally smooth, but here and there raised into small points or knots, or arrowed with short and narrow longitudinal lines in which snow lay. From the snow on western border the Poyallipa arose, and in its course down this rock slope was fenced in to the eastward by a regular elevation of the rock in the form of a wall or dyke, which, at the distance I viewed it, seemed about four feet high and four hundred yards in length. Two pyramids of rock arose from the gentle acclivity at S. W. extremity of mountain, and around each the drifting snow had accumulated in large quantity, forming a basin apparently of great depth. Here I also perceived, peeping from their snowy covering, two lines of dyke similar to that already mentioned.

Sept. 4. Am tonight encamped on a small eminence near the commencement of prairie. Had a tedious walk through the wood bordering Poyallipa, but accomplished it in much shorter time than formerly. Evening fine.

Sept. 5. Nusqually. Reached Tekatat camp in the forenoon and regaled on boiled elk and shallon. Pushed on ahead with Lachalet and Quilliliaish, and arrived here in the evening, where all is well.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

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**McCarver and Tacoma.** By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1906. Pp. 198.)

The dedication of this interesting little volume will be thoroughly appreciated by the old settlers throughout the Pacific Northwest. It is as follows:

"In loving memory of our parents, Morton M. McCarver and Julia A. McCarver, this volume is published and dedicated to the Pioneers of Oregon and Washington.

VIRGINIA MCCARVER PROSCH,  
ELIZABETH MORTON HARRIS."

Mr. Prosch, whose wife and her sister join in this dedication, is himself a pioneer journalist of Puget Sound. He has a clear, direct style, which serves admirably the putting upon record all the principal facts of this remarkable pioneer life. McCarver was one of those pushing, energetic characters best described as the typical frontiersman. His boyhood was spent in Kentucky. He went down the Mississippi in 1821, to Illinois in 1829, to Iowa in 1832, where he helped to found the City of Burlington, to Oregon in 1843, to California in 1848, back to Oregon in 1850, to Commencement Bay in 1868, where he founded the City of Tacoma. General McCarver was a city builder, a maker of constitutions, a merchant, a farmer—in short, an empire builder.

It is well that such a life should be separately treated in our history, and that the work should be done by one who has had full access to the family records and traditions. This little book will always be of prime importance to the historians of "Old Oregon."

\*The book, from page 143 to the end, is devoted to the "Early History of Tacoma," being the reproduction of an address by Mr. Prosch before the Association of Pierce County Pioneers at Tacoma, April 12, 1905. In this work Mr. Prosch has also evinced the same spirit of accuracy in going back to the original sources, where he has gleaned valuable facts now difficult of access outside of his own book.

**In the Beginning.** By Clarence B. Bagley. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1905. Pp. 90.)

In his sub-title to this valuable pamphlet, Mr. Bagley fully describes it as "A sketch of some early events in Western Washington while it was still a part of 'Old Oregon.'"

The inspiration for the work, and much of its most valuable material, were obtained from the unpublished diaries and journals of the Hudson Bay Company's people at old Fort Nisqually, the first settlement of whites on Puget Sound. Mr. Bagley was fortunate in securing access to these documents, and he has used his advantage in a way that will certainly prove helpful to all future students of history in this field.

One portion of the work, rescued from old archives, relates to the first attempt by white man to ascend Mount Rainier. This portion of the old diary is of such great interest to the people of the Northwest that it is reproduced, with Mr. Bagley's consent, in this issue of the *Quarterly* in the Department of Documents.

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**David S. Maynard and Catherine T. Maynard.** By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1906. Pp. 80.)

As in his former book, so in this pamphlet, Mr. Prosch has rescued from threatening oblivion the records of two of the Oregon immigrants of 1850.

Mrs. Maynard still lives, and on July 19, 1906, celebrated her ninetieth birthday. During the past fifty-six years she has seen this whole northwestern country rescued from the wilderness.

Doctor Maynard was one of the founders of the City of Seattle. He died on March 13, 1873. Having passed away while the city was still a mere village, and being survived by many other pioneers whose lives were better known, the life and work of Doctor Maynard were being lost sight of until this work of Mr. Prosch brought to light the facts.

Since this work was privately published and will soon become scarce, Mr. Prosch has consented that the *Quarterly* may reproduce from its pages the diary kept by Doctor Maynard during his trip across the plains.

## RECENT BOOKS.

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The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have arranged to begin the publication of the Cambridge Medieval History soon after the completion of the Cambridge Modern History. The work is to appear in eight volumes and is planned by Prof. J. B. Bury and will be edited by Prof. H. M. G. Watkin, Miss Mary Bateson and Dr. G. T. Lapsley. Dr. Lapsley formerly taught in the Leland Stanford Jr. University, and in the University of California.

"The Development of the Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts" has just been issued as Volume XII of the Harvard Historical Series. It is an extended revision of a thesis offered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Prof. Clyde Augustus Duniway, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

"An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention," by Morris Birkbeck, a noted anti-slavery agitator, has been reprinted by the Illinois State Historical Society from a copy of the Boston Athenaeum printed in 1823. The bibliography is by Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian of the University of Washington.

The MacMillan Company announce that they will publish two more volumes of Rhodes' "History of the United States Since 1850" in the fall. The narrative will end with the year 1877 and will not be continued down to 1885, as was Mr. Rhodes' original intention.

The Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865 (Washington, Government Printing Office), is now complete in seven volumes.

"The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States," by F. G. Franklin, is the latest publication of the University of Chicago Press.

Henry Holt & Co. have begun a series of books dealing with "Contemporary Political, Economic and Social Questions," under the general title "American Public Problems." The first volume is "Immigration," by Prescott F. Hall; the second is "The Election of Senators," by George H. Haynes.

An index to the first ten volumes of the *American Historical Review*, prepared by David M. Matteson, is now in press.

Kegan Paul has published volumes nine and ten of A. M. Christie's translation of the German edition of J. Janssen's "History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages."

Noteworthy articles on English history appear in the periodicals, as follows: W. S. Green, "The Wreck of the Spanish Armada on the Coast of Ireland" (*Geographical Journal*, May); W. C. Abbott, "The Long Parliament of Charles II" (*English Historical Review*, April); F. Treffry, "St. Patrick" (*The Westminster Review*, May).

A *Life of Calvin* by Prof. Williston Walker is to be published by Putnams in the "Heroes of the Reformation" series.

A bibliography of text and reference books in history for use in High Schools has been published (Columbia, 1905, pp. 27), by the University of Missouri, Department of History.



## NEWS DEPARTMENT

### The Jason Lee Memorial.

One of the most inspiring events in the field of history in the Pacific Northwest was the reburial of Reverend Jason Lee, at Salem, Oregon, on Friday, June 15, 1906. He was missionary, colonizer and the founder of Willamette University. It was, therefore, especially appropriate that the services should be held in connection with the sixty-second annual commencement of Willamette University, under the direction of President Coleman of that institution.

The committee of arrangements was as follows: John H. Coleman, chairman; Francis H. Grubbs, secretary; Robert A. Booth, Mrs. Smith French and Welton Skipworth.

There were four services, morning, afternoon and evening and the services of interment, also in the afternoon. The services were all appropriately religious, with the reading of Scriptures, singing of hymns and the offering of prayers and benedictions. The addresses, besides the fervor and inspiration suggested by the occasion, bore much information of real historic value.

The morning service was held under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church. It was presided over by Rev. D. L. Rader, D. D., and the two addresses were delivered by Hon. W. D. Fenton and Rev. Dr. J. R. Wilson.

The afternoon service was under the auspices of the Oregon Pioneer Association. It was presided over by Hon. J. C. Moreland. The addresses were by Hon. Harvey W. Scott and Hon. Reuben P. Boise.

The evening service was under the auspices of the States formed out of the original Oregon Territory. It was presided over by Hon. Asabel Bush. The addresses were: "Oregon," by Governor George E. Chamberlain; "Washington," by Hon. Allen Weir, representing the Governor; "Idaho," by Lieutenant-Governor B. L. Stevens, representing the Governor.

The interment in the Lee Mission Cemetery took place at 2:30 P. M. The honorary pallbearers were as follows: Rev. I. D. Driver, D. D., Rev. Robert Booth, Rev. T. F. Royal, Rev. J. H.

B. Royal, Rev. Nelson Clark, Rev. John Flynn, Rev. A. J. Joslyn, Rev. John Atwood, Rev. M. S. Anderson, Rev. W. J. White, Rev. W. S. Turner, Rev. W. W. Van Dusen, D. D., Rev. J. D. Gillilan and Rev. Abraham Eades.

From the standpoint of history, the most valuable address was that by Hon. Harvey W. Scott, the famous editor of the *Portland Oregonian*. That address is reproduced in this issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

### **Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake.**

The Washington State Historical Society has recently rendered a great and good service to the cause of local history in the Northwest by erecting a monument at the site of the first Fourth of July celebration on the Pacific coast. That old celebration was by members of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition in 1841. The site was on the shore of Sequalitchew Lake, not far from Tacoma. At that place the monument has been erected. There was one survivor of the first celebration at these commemorative exercises on July 5, 1906. This was an old Indian, Slugamus Koquilton, who as a boy was present at the strange proceedings of 1841.

The Historical Society invited as participants in their undertaking the Association of Pierce County Pioneers, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Washington University State Historical Society.

The President of the Day was R. L. McCormick, President of the Washington State Historical Society.

The programme was as follows:

Song, "America."

Invocation, by Rev. George F. Whitworth, of Seattle, President of the Washington State Pioneer Society.

Address—"The Revolutionary Idea," by Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Seattle, President of the Washington Sons of the American Revolution.

"Historical Sketch of the Event We Commemorate," by Prof. W. H. Gilstrap, of Tacoma, Secretary of the Ferry Museum.

Oration—"Problems of the Pacific," by Stephen B. L. Penrose, of Walla Walla, President of Whitman College.

Paper—"Dr. J. P. Richmond's Participation in the Original Celebration at this Place in 1841," by Rev. A. Atwood, of Seattle.

Song, "Star Spangled Banner."

Talk by the only known survivor of the Wilkes celebration—Chief Koquilton, of Muckelshoot.

Address—"Historical Places and Occasions," by Hon. Albert E. Mead, of Olympia, Governor of Washington.

Unveiling of the monument by Governor Mead, assisted by young ladies, descendants of pioneers and Daughters of the American Revolution.

By permission of President Stephen B. L. Penrose, of Whitman College, his address on that memorable occasion is reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly.

### Reprint of Wilkes's Book.

Those who will follow with interest the reprint of George Wilkes's rare little book may wish to know who Wilkes was. The only biography available is that in the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, as follows:

"Wilkes, George, journalist, b. in New York city in 1820; d. there 23 Sept., 1885. In 1850 he became co-editor, with William T. Porter, of the 'Spirit of the Times' in New York, and subsequently he was proprietor of that paper. He was well known as a politician, and travelled repeatedly in Europe. In April, 1870, he received from the Emperor of Russia the grand cross of the Order of St. Stanislas for his services in suggesting to the Russian government an overland railway to China and India by way of Russia. In addition to contributions to periodicals, he published 'History of California [Oregon], Geographical and Political' [New York, 1845], and 'Europe in a Hurry' [1852]."

### Items in Brief.

Edward McMahon, head of the history department of the Seattle High School, has a year's leave of absence which he will spend in graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. During the summer he has occupied the chair of history in the University of Washington, from which institution he graduated in the class of 1898. After graduation he taught in the graded schools and then took a year of graduate work at the University of California before beginning his work in the Seattle High School. History interests of the Northwest have a stalwart and capable worker in this industrious son of Washington.

W. J. Trimble, of the history force in the Spokane High

School, offered a course in Northwestern history in the Washington State College during the summer school in that institution.

Jacob Neibert Bowman, Ph. D., head of the history department of the Bellingham State Normal School was united in marriage to Edna Beazelle Wilson, the daughter of Professor Washington Wilson, on June 30, 1906. Dr. Bowman has been recognized as one of the best trained historians in the Northwest. His brethren of the cult will certainly wish him much joy.

The last word from Ezra Meeker, the venerable pioneer and historian, stated that he was in Wyoming, still pushing eastward in his effort to retrace and mark the famous old Oregon trail.

At the recent convention of the Washington Library Association it was announced that the State of Wisconsin has taken the lead in forming a legislative reference department in its state library. From the staff trained there young men have gone out into half a dozen other states to furnish similar equipments. The State of Oregon has started such a department at the State University at Eugene. About the only appropriate place for such work is at the meeting place of the Legislature. In this State, Librarian J. M. Hitt is laying all plans to have such a department inaugurated at the beginning of the next legislative session.

The study of history and kindred subjects received an inspiring uplift in the State of Washington this summer through the presence here of two prominent educators from the East. Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin gave two courses of lectures in the summer session of the University of Washington. He is counted one of the best living American authorities in his cosen field of sociology. James A. Woodburn, Professor of American History in the University of Indiana, also ranked as one of the best in his field of work, gave full courses of lectures at the Summer Science School for Teachers of the Washington State College at Pullman. The presence of two such men, though for a brief summer season, will leave an enduring and wholesome impress upon the teachers of this State.

It is a pleasure to record that the H. H. Bancroft Library, recently purchased by the University of California, was not destroyed in the recent destruction of San Francisco.

The Sutro Collection, the Library of Society of California Pioneers, noted for its collection of typewritten reminiscences of pioneers and the Spanish records of Californian were destroyed.

Prof. A. C. McLaughlin has resigned his professorship at Ann Arbor to become head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Assistant Professor Van Tyne succeeds Prof. McLaughlin at Ann Arbor.

The University of Wisconsin has recently acquired Pierre Morgry's scrap-book of clippings dealing with the discovery of the Mississippi and kindred subjects.



## REPRINT DEPARTMENT

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In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

### THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

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By George Wilkes.

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#### PREFACE.

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The deep interest taken in the Oregon question at the present moment; its paramount importance as a feature of our national policy, and the prevailing inacquaintance with its particular merits, have, together, induced the author to prepare the following pages, in the absence of the requisite work for the reference of the public.

There appears to be a peculiar necessity for a publication of this kind at present, for recent events have shown it is no extravagance to suppose that a period may arrive when it will be necessary for us to be assured, whether we are to buckle on our armor, and to draw our swords in a righteous cause or no.

In a monarchy, where the sovereign has a direct and absorbing personal interest in every war, he pays pamphleteers to make it popular with The People. In a Government like ours, this duty, when just, devolves upon its citizens, and such of them as perform it, are rewarded with consciousness of having acquitted themselves of a natural obligation, and in the additional gratification of lending another impulse to a righteous cause.

To accomplish his object in the best manner, the following pages have been arranged in two distinct parts; the first embracing the features of title, geography, and natural advantages; and the second, the descriptions of a traveller of the characteristics and capabilities of the country in dispute.

In the preparation of the first, care has been taken to furnish a clear, concise and straightforward relation of events, and to avoid the technicalities and pedantries which usually confuse the mind in the attempted consideration of such subjects. For the data of this portion of the work, the author has availed himself freely of the best authorities on the subject, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to the work of Robert Greenhow, published for the use of Congress in 1840, and also to the more recent journal of Lieutenant Wilkes.

It will be observed by those already conversant with the Oregon Question, that the author has left what is called "the French Title" from the category of our claims. He did this because he esteemed it of but little weight; but those who are curious on the subject, will find a careful deduction of it in the Appendix, as prepared by a Committee of Congress, in 1843.

The project of a National Rail Road across the continent, though generally denounced as visionary and impracticable, has long been the author's favorite idea, and he claims for it that attention which every scheme deserves from its opposers. It was not his intention to advance it as early as the present time, but the rapid progress of events has precipitated his design, and a similar proposal from another source, has induced him to bring it forward now, principally from an apprehension that the grandest scheme the world ever entertained, may be prostituted to the selfish interests of a private corporation.

The second part of the work, consists of a journal, prepared from a series of letters, written by a gentleman now in Oregon, who himself accompanied the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843.

They make no pretensions in their style, but are merely simple, conversational epistles, which, in their familiar, off-hand way, furnish a large amount of useful practical information to the emigrant, and much interesting matter to the general reader. The author has done scarcely more to this portion than to throw it into chapters, and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics as had been drawn from other sources, and arranged in the preceding portions of the work. These letters

fell into his hands after the adoption and commencement of his original design; and adapting them to his purpose, by linking them with his own MSS., a deal of research was saved him by the valuable and peculiar information they contributed.

In conclusion, though much of his labor has been performed in haste, the author thinks it hardly necessary to offer an apology for the manner in which it has been accomplished. Instead of fishing for credit, he has desired only to be useful, and he would much prefer confirming the just determination of a single man, than to pleasing the fancies of a thousand critics. He has therefore been content to be correct, and he will feel over-paid if he have opposed a single obstacle to the manifold deceptions and misstatements of the calculating monarchists who unhappily form a portion of the Citizens of this Republic, or have contributed a mite to the great movement that will advance the destiny of his country more rapidly than all other influences combined.

## HISTORY OF OREGON.

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### PART I.

**Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an examination of the old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a deduction of the United States Title.**

Oregon is a vast stretch of territory, lying on the northwest coast of North America. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the north by latitude  $54^{\circ} 40'$ ; on the east by the Rocky mountains, and on the south by the forty-second parallel. This geographical arrangement separates the coast into three grand divisions; first, that below the forty-second parallel belonging to Mexico; second, the section lying between  $42^{\circ}$ , and  $54^{\circ} 40'$  to the United States; and third, all above the last named limit, to the Russian crown—thus shutting Great Britain out from any inch of seaboard territory.

The whole of this immense region (Oregon) is nine hundred and sixty miles in length; its breadth along its northern boundary is about five hundred miles, and widening gradually with the south-easterly course of the Rocky mountains, it stretches to about seven hundred miles along its southern line. Its whole surface may, therefore, be estimated at **four hundred thousand square miles.**

Previous to entering into a description of its general characteristics, it is necessary first to analyze with accuracy the nature of our claims, for the purpose of ascertaining the degree of in-

terest we are warranted in bestowing on it. This course will be found the more important, as we shall see that Great Britain, with characteristic modesty, lays claim to it for herself.

There are four modes by which nations may obtain possession and sovereignty over countries; and these are by **discovery**; by **settlement**; by **conquest**, and by **purchase**—the latter, including all subordinate modes of cession arising out of political arrangement.

These rules, or principles, are laid down and governed by a general system called **international law**, the nature and qualities of which it will be necessary for us to exactly understand, before we can proceed satisfactorily with our inquiry.

**International Law** is simply **no law at all**, for the first idea of law implies a superior power prescribing and dictating to an inferior one—a notion that is perfectly incompatible with the equality of nations. International law is, therefore, merely a collection of moral maxims put forth by certain ethical writers named Grotius, Puffendorf, Baron Wolfius and Vattel, which, being founded in the main on accurate bases, have been generally used by diplomatists as ready elucidations of the principles that should govern the general course and policy of nations. The adoption of this course saves them the special trouble of elaborating an argument on a natural right, by producing one ready made to their hand. The custom of resorting to these writers by diplomatists in the arrangement of their disputes, has given them a sort of authority, which has been confounded with the notion of an imperative rule. As, however, all nations are equal, there can be no international law but the great principle of **right**. Wherever the maxims of these writers square with this, they are doubtless as obligatory as any law can be; for all powers are subject alike to the rules of everlasting justice, which are the type and essence of the only supremacy to which the nations of the earth must bow. But, whenever on the contrary, they do not agree with this divine principle, it is equally obligatory on all to reject them.

There is another view in which a government like ours has a special and peculiar right to deny the obligatory nature of this collection of essays, and that is embraced in the fact of their being drawn from monarchical theories. **We**, therefore, who are working upon a new and antagonistic principle, are not bound by any scheme which conflicts with our own grand designs; for it would be absurd in the extreme for a State which achieved its existence through the denunciation of an arbitrary and unjust system, to admit the binding force of its inconsistent parts. **We** want no such system of international law! The prevailing sentiment of national honour, common to every free people, is the best conservator of the rights of nations; for while it imperatively exacts immediate redress for every wrong, it rejects every unworthy policy with unqualified disdain. The principles of justice, eternal and invariable, are understood by all without the



elaborate filterings of an artificial code, and they have the advantage moreover, of applying equally to Monarchies and to Republics. The just do right without a written rule; the bad outrage it in opposition to a thousand—the first find their reward in the approbation of the world; the last their punishment in the alternative of war. No written code can alter these tendencies, nor affect their results. No nation will obey a rule which runs in derogation of its rights. What need then of a system which offers no additional inducements and enforces no additional penalties?

We do not introduce these views of international law here, because any of its principles makes against our claims to Oregon, but for the opposite reason that they substantiate them; for we wish to be understood, that while we have a right to accept a proposition waged against us, and turn its premises to our own account, we do not thereby bind ourselves irrevocably to the whole system of which it is a part.

Great Britain, in support of her pretensions to the sovereignty of Oregon, produces two principles from this code which relate to the rights drawn from discovery and occupation. We accept the challenge, because it happens to be founded on correct principles, and because it enables us to beat her on her own ground. The following are the rules alluded to. They are extracted from Vattel, who is considered the standard authority on international law:

"All mankind have an equal right to things that have not fallen into the hands of any one; and these things belong to the person who first takes possession of them. When, therefore, a nation finds a country uninhabited and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it; and after it has sufficiently made known its intention or will in this respect, it cannot be deprived of it by another nation. Thus navigators going on voyages of discovery, **furnished with a commission from their sovereign**, and meeting with islands or other lands in a desert state, have taken possession of them in the name of their nation; and this title has been usually respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession."—Book 1, Chap. 18, Sec. 207.

"When a nation takes possession of a country that never yet belonged to another, it is considered as possessing there the empire or sovereignty at the same time with the domain."—Book 1, Chap. 18, Sec. 205.

The correctness of these propositions cannot be denied; they are consistent with reason and natural rights, and though they derive no additional force from being written down by Monsieur Vattel, they are properly admitted by nations as principles which cannot be assailed to the injury of the party enjoying the rights of the affirmative, without aggression. Indeed, they would have been much better and more correctly understood if Vattel had never said a word about them. It is obvious enough that no claim can exist to a country which has never been discovered,



and it is equally obvious that it must naturally fall into the possession of the first nation who redeems it to the world; but it is not so apparent why a navigator should be armed with a **commission** before his nation can derive a title to his discoveries. Here we see at once the pedantry of the lawyer; the main proposition is founded upon reasonable principles, but the latter condition is the offspring of a quirk. It will be hereafter seen that England discards this feature from the rule, in her assertion of the discoveries of Meares; and it was against such absurdities as this, that our protest against international law was intended to guard.

There is one other principle of international law which has been introduced into this controversy, that is of equal natural force and validity with the foregoing ones. This is the well known and established rule that "he who first discovers the mouth of a river draining a country in a state of nature, and makes known his discovery; and the nation whom he represents takes possession in a reasonable time, becomes the owner of all the territory drained by such river."

This proposition, like the former ones, recommends itself at once to our reason and common sense. It is clear that such river should belong of right to the nation first discovering it, and it is equally clear, that to be of any use or benefit to them, they should have possession of the whole country drained by it, so that its sources and its current may not be at the mercy of inimical hands, who could render it useless at pleasure by cutting off the first, or perverting the second in a different channel.

[To be continued.]

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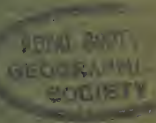
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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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EDMOND S. MEANY

VOL. I No. 2

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JANUARY, 1907

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To establish and maintain a society for the collection and preservation of historical facts and records; to gather and preserve memorials of the pioneers and early settlers of the Territory and State of Washington; to purchase, own, hold, enclose, maintain and mark the places of historical interest, within this State by suitable and appropriate monuments, tablets and enclosures; to promote and engage in historical research relating to the Indians and Indian tribes; to engage in, carry on and promote historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary and scientific researches, and to publish the results of the same; to collect, collate, bind and put in convenient form for use and preservation the papers, documents, materials and records collected by the society; to publish, provide for and superintend the publication and distribution of, any papers, manuscripts, documents and records collected by the society; to establish and maintain a library; to encourage and promote the study of history, and especially of the history of the Territory and State of Washington, at the University of Washington; to act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping; to purchase or construct a suitable building for safely housing and preserving the historical and other records belonging to the society or committed to its care, and for its use and accommodation in all other respects; to receive, accept and fully acquire by purchase, lease, gift, or otherwise, lands, tenements and hereditaments, and all such personal property as it may deem desirable for its interests, including stocks in other corporations, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages, bills receivable and choses in action, and to sell and dispose of the same (except that the papers, books, documents, historical and other records belonging to the society, shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of, but duplicates or superfluous copies thereof may be exchanged or otherwise disposed of); to borrow money and to make and deliver its promissory notes or other agreements to pay money, and to issue and sell its negotiable bonds and secure the same by making, executing and delivering mortgages and deeds of trust of its real property, or any thereof, for the payment or performance of all notes, bonds, contracts and other obligations which it may at any time make or incur; and to do each and every act and thing whatsoever which may at any time be or become necessary, convenient and advisable for it to

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do, in order to accomplish and carry out all or any of the objects or purposes or exercise any or all of the powers aforesaid, to the same extent that an individual or natural person might or could do in the premises; as well as each and every of the powers expressly or impliedly conferred in or by the laws of the State of Washington relating to the organization and management of such associations.—Article III of the Articles of Incorporation.

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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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## COLLECTING PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON'S GOVERNORS.

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On several occasions the Legislature of the State of Washington by resolution has suggested the collection of the portraits of the gentlemen who have served the territory or state as Chief Executive, these portraits to remain in the capitol building. This is in conformity with the custom followed in most of the states of the union of preserving the portraits of the governors, and is in line with the practice of the national government of preserving the portraits of the presidents and of the cabinet officers in their succession. The work of collecting these portraits in some of the states was begun only in recent years and the collections were completed only with considerable difficulty and at considerable expense. It is eminently fit and proper that each state should own such a collection, which is in fact part of the history of the commonwealth. The student of history and every citizen has an interest in learning something of the personality of the men who have served as the state's Chief Executive.

Prior to my inauguration as governor, seventeen gentlemen had served as governor either of the territory or state. The succession was as follows:

Governors of the Territory: Isaac I. Stevens, 1853-1857; Fayette McMullin, 1857-1859; R. D. Gholson, 1859-1861; W. H. Wallace, 1861; William H. Pickering, 1862-1866; George E. Cole, 1866-1867; Marshal F. Moore, 1867-1869; Alvin Flanders, 1869-1870; Edward S. Salomon, 1870-1872; Elisha P. Ferry, 1872-1880; W. A. Newell, 1880-1884; Watson C. Squire, 1884-1887; Eugene Semple, 1887-1889; Miles C. Moore, (7 months) 1889 to statehood.

Governors of the State: Elisha P. Ferry, 1889-1893; John H. McGraw, 1893-1897; John R. Rogers, 1897-December, 1901; Henry McBride, December, 1901-January, 1905.



On assuming office I found the only portrait of a former governor in the executive chambers was that of Governor Salomon, who is now a resident of San Francisco. In the summer of 1905 I began by correspondence an endeavor to collect all of the portraits of the former governors to have them preserved in the executive offices. Having no special appropriation of public funds for this purpose it was impossible to seek elaborate or permanent portraits. But I did deem it essential to secure some portrait—either photograph or engraving—at this time, for the task of making the collection would grow more difficult year by year. The result of my efforts in this direction has been that I have collected all but one of the portraits. The missing one is that of Governor R. D. Gholson, who remained in the territory only a year and returned to his old home in Paducah, Kentucky, some months before his retirement. I am in hope of securing this missing portrait before the assembling of the legislature in January, 1907.

The portraits I have secured have all been framed and are now hanging in my office. They are all pronounced excellent likenesses, and in the event that at some future time the legislature determines to have them put in more permanent form, as is the practice in some other states, the artist will have an authentic base upon which to work.

Beginning with the portrait of Governor Salomon, the second picture secured was that of Governor Marshal F. Moore, which was presented by Mrs. R. G. O'Brien, of Olympia. Governor Moore was a general officer of the Union Army during the Civil War. His remains are buried in the Olympia cemetery.

Following this Governor Miles C. Moore presented a handsome portrait of himself.

The late Capt. P. B. Johnson, of Walla Walla, interested himself in this matter and through his efforts Miss Marguerite Mitchell Painter, of Walla Walla, loaned me an excellent portrait of the late Governor Alvin Flanders, which I had copied in Olympia. Governor Flanders was an intimate friend of Mr. William C. Painter, the father of Miss Painter.

The task of finding a portrait of Governor Fayette McMullin was difficult, Governor McMullin having returned to his home in Virginia after having served his term here. However, Mr. Roderick Sprague, of this city, secured from Miss Addie Wood, also of Olympia, a small *carte de visete* photograph of the late governor, Miss Wood being a relative of the McMullin family. This small portrait was enlarged for me by Mr. Asahel Curtis,

of Seattle, who reproduced from a somewhat faded print a very excellent picture.

Judge Mason Irwin, of Montesano, contributed a splendid photograph of Governor W. A. Newell.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Frank Hogan, of Spokane, a steel engraving of Governor George E. Cole was secured long prior to the death of the governor.

Governor Eugene Semple forwarded personally a good engraving of himself.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Asahel Curtis and Mr. S. P. Weston, of Seattle, photographs of Governors Isaac I. Stevens and Elisha P. Ferry were donated to the office.

Governor Watson C. Squire presented an excellent portrait of himself, framed and ready for hanging.

Mrs. William S. Mayfield, of Seattle, a granddaughter of the late Governor William Pickering, presented an enlarged copy of an old daguerreotype, the only portrait of Governor Pickering known to be in existence. Mrs. Mayfield relates the story of the manner in which this original portrait was secured in an interesting fashion:

"The old home was burned at one time and the picture of my grandmother was destroyed among other keepsakes Grandpa had cherished. He felt the loss of these pictures so keenly that he could never be induced to have one taken of himself as much as the family used to urge it. But one day as he was talking to an old friend of his who was a photographer by the name of Harwick, Mr. Harwick suddenly caught the opportunity, saying: 'Now, Governor, sit still; I am going to take your picture.' There was no chance given Grandpa to even brush his hair or arrange his necktie. So that accounts for the careless appearance. If Mr. Harwick had not used strategy at that time there would have been no picture in existence. The family were very grateful to Mr. Harwick for seizing the opportunity while Grandpa was in his gallery talking to him, for he could never be induced to 'sit for his picture.'"

The portrait of Governor Wallace was secured through Mr. J. N. Bradley, of Tacoma, and Mr. W. H. Gilstrap, Curator of the Ferry Museum. The latter gentleman copied photographically for me the very excellent portrait of Governor Wallace which now hangs in the Ferry Museum in Tacoma.

From local photographers I secured the photographs of Governors McGraw, Rogers and McBride.

The search for the Gholson portrait is still in progress. Senator Piles has interested himself and secured some data in the Congressional Library on which to base a search. Governor

J. C. W. Beckham, of Kentucky, is helping and hopes to be able to secure the portrait before very long. Mr. Edward O. Leigh, Governor Beckham's secretary, has expended considerable effort on the work. I have been fortunate in locating in Paducah, Kentucky, the former home of Governor Gholson, an old friend of mine, Richard T. Lightfoot, who thinks he will be able to secure a portrait from some of the family connections.

While I was making this original collection I was surprised and pleased to learn of an arrangement which former Governor John H. McGraw had made with Mrs. Minnie Sparling Brown, of Seattle, to paint the portraits of the former governors of the State of Washington, which arrangement had received the sanction of Governor McGraw's successor, Governor John R. Rogers. Mrs. Brown had undertaken the work of course without any formal contract or formal promise, but ill health prevented the completion of it at an early date. She continued the work, however, over several years and on April 18, last, delivered at my office portraits in oils of the four gentlemen who have served before me as governor of the State of Washington. The portraits are pronounced by those learned in art to be of the first quality, and certainly they all are magnificent likenesses. Mrs. Brown will ask the coming Legislature to appropriate a suitable sum in payment for these pictures and she should be paid liberally.

With a view to preserving still more historical portraits at the capitol I am now endeavoring to secure portraits of all of the twenty-six gentlemen who have served the state or territory in Congress, either as territorial delegate, representative in Congress, or senator. Several of the territorial governors later served as territorial delegates, viz: William H. Wallace, Isaac I. Stevens, George E. Cole and Alvin Flanders; while Governor Squire served as United States Senator. All of these portraits we already have. These with others that have been presented give the office eighteen of the total number to be collected. The others are all promised and I hope to secure them before many weeks have passed.

It is rather interesting to note that the expense of making the collection of photographs and engravings of former governors and members of the Washington delegation in Congress has been slight to the state. The total expense so far for copying, framing and the like, has been less than \$25.00. The chief expenditure has been of labor incident to writing the letters. It is probable that fully 500 letters were required to secure the pictures I have enumerated. I have learned that in assembling historical matters of this sort, patience is the chief requisite to

success. People are willing to help and will do so, as instanced by the fact that in the whole correspondence I found no one who did not evince a desire to assist in the work, but good intentions need a little gentle prodding at times, and if one will only follow things up and write enough letters he is pretty sure to accomplish what he starts out to do in a work of this character. Incident to making the collection considerable historical data of value has come to light and convinces me more than ever of the necessity for the better preservation of the sources of our state's history and the proper assembling of them.

In closing I desire to thank the press of the state for the valuable assistance it rendered me. Through the publicity given the plan of collection I was able to receive information and portraits that otherwise could not have been secured.

ALBERT E. MEAD.

## PRESERVING OUR PUBLIC RECORDS.

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Those who have had an opportunity to investigate the condition of the public archives of the State of Washington have good reason to deplore the lack of interest that heretofore has been taken in the preservation of these sources of our history. However, one has but to read the reports of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association to gain a mite of comfort in the knowledge that many an older state than Washington has been even more negligent in preserving records and that conditions elsewhere are even more deplorable than here.

The history of Washington as a separate political organization runs back to 1853. In all these years the seat of government has been Olympia, but the several offices have made many moves. The governor, the secretary of state, the librarian, the other officers have found quarters at different times in different parts of town, and not until recent years were they all gathered under one roof. Moves of this character do not make for continuity in the keeping of old records, nor for the preservation of books or papers not required for immediate purposes. The result is that the early territorial records, the books and papers and writings that form the base of our history, are scattered. Possibly they can be found and assembled; possibly they cannot. No man knows. No man, in fact, knows very much about the early records of Washington. Down in the basement of the state house are two great packing cases full of the manuscripts, papers and records of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, the first territorial governor. Stored in the vaults of the auditor's office are piles and bundles of papers of some of the other territorial governors. In the governor's office itself are a few old record books, lacking continuity, chief among them being the volume in which Governor Stevens recorded his first official acts. But there are no papers referring in any way to territorial days to be found in the governor's office, while the bundles in the auditor's office contain none of the papers or records relating to administrations earlier than that of Governor Newell. Where the others are I do not know. I have made no extended search for them, for were they found now there is no room for them in the absurdly small closet, called by courtesy a vault, in the governor's office.



In the vaults of the secretary of state are to be found the journals of territorial house and council, the journals of state house and senate, the constitution, the laws and the like, but with them is a great mass of other papers and records that has accumulated for years and that contains, no doubt, some important and valuable matter.

The other offices are in the same condition. When all moved into the new state house they gathered together what they could find and brought it, though none of it was systematically arranged, catalogued or indexed, save the current records. When the old territorial capitol on the hill was abandoned, papers galore were found in the attic and elsewhere and at least some of them were brought along. Some one found two old barrels full of strange looking papers. These, after strenuous experiences, landed in the office of the adjutant general. That gentleman—General Drain—took the trouble to examine them and found they were part of the Indian war records; original orders, reports and the like. The general turned them over to the state librarian in whose custody they are now, but no provision has yet been made for indexing them.

This chaotic condition of the state's archives is in no way the fault of the present officers. The same condition—and with less excuse—has been found to exist in many other states. It is the result of years of neglect by earlier officers, inadequate filing room, frequent changes of office location and lack of systematic attention to the important work of record preservation. There is evidence, too, that the archives have been ravaged by individuals for their personal collections. An incoming officer in the state administration finds in his limited filing accommodations these old accumulations. No matter how good his intentions he finds it impossible to do anything with them, for he soon learns that the current business of his office, with the growth of the state, is constantly increasing and that he has all he can do, with the small force that characterizes every state office at Olympia, to keep up with his current work without seeking to rearrange the old files. Further, it takes but a slight investigation on his part to learn that absolutely nothing of consequence can be done to bring order out of the chaotic condition without the services of a person skilled in indexing, cataloguing and the handling of archives. Hence the officer lets things stand as he finds them.

To digress for a moment, this condition is not peculiar to the State of Washington. The State of Wisconsin, notable for its splendid historical society and for its generous appropriations for historical research, only in recent years began to put its

archives in proper condition. I quote from the report of Carl Russell Fish, Ph. D., on the public archives of Wisconsin to the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association at the annual meeting of 1905:

“Governor’s Office—The archives of this office are preserved in two vaults, an upper vault, equipped with iron filing cases, and a lower vault, poorly arranged and containing little of importance. Numbers of the filing boxes of the upper vault are empty, although labeled. It is said that the papers in them were removed at the time of the fire and are still in existence, although a careful search failed to reveal them. It is thought best to mention these documents, adding the word ‘missing’. The more important series of papers have been completely indexed by the card system, and **an expert indexer is at work with the object of completely indexing the records in the office.**”

It is safe to assume that the old county and city records in the State of Washington are in quite as bad condition as the old records of the territory. Now that so many persons are beginning to take a lively interest in the history of Washington, it would seem that the time is ripe for the various historical societies to agitate such action by the legislature as will make all these early records available not only to the officials but to the student and the investigator. It is a real handicap to a public officer not to have available and within easy reach accurate information regarding the previous conduct of his office, but in no office can a consecutive and accurate record of all proceedings back to the establishment of the office be found, save, of course, in the instance of offices created within recent years.

The conditions I have described thus hurriedly are familiar to a number of those who are interested in the history of Washington and who desire to have a remedy applied. But even among these there seems to exist a confusion of ideas as to what should be done and how it should be done. True, these old records are chiefly of historical value, but also they are public records and have a distinct value as such. Putting them in available form for the official and the student is the work of the state itself, not of a society. The attitude of the American Historical Association toward the subject is informing. This association, seven years ago, began the work of trying to secure on the part of states a better attention to their priceless archives. The association established its own Public Archives Commission to investigate conditions and agitate reforms so as to make records available to the student. That commission now forms one of the association’s chief activities. The influence of the work is seen in legislation in many states and awak-

ened interest in many others, both of which facts are contributing to the better preservation of archives and to making them of value to the historian.

The character of the legislation enacted in the states that have taken up the work is suggestive. Pennsylvania in 1903 created a division of public records, in connection with the state library, which was to receive, care for and make available all public documents which were more of historical value than useful for current business, while an unsalaried advisory commission, with the librarian, was required to investigate and report on the condition of all public records in the state and to make recommendations for their better preservation.

The governor of Pennsylvania, in his succeeding message to the legislature, wrote:

"The department of public records provided for at the last session in connection with the library has been organized and is doing efficient work. The archives upon which the foundations of our history rest, which up to the present time have lain about cellars and out of the way places, being gradually stolen, lost or destroyed, have been gathered together and are now being prepared and permanently secured in volumes chronologically arranged and open to the investigations of scholars."

Maryland in 1904 created a public records commission of three persons to be appointed by the governor, to serve without pay save expenses, to examine and report on the condition of public records in the state. That state also enacted legislation regarding the quality of paper and ink hereafter to be used in making public records.

Mississippi established in 1902 a department of archives and history along somewhat the same lines, although its work included also the work of an information bureau, bureau of statistics and bureau for the exploitation of the resources of the state. Alabama has a department the duplicate of this.

Delaware in 1905 created a division of public records, which, while not removing any records from an office, was charged with the "classification and cataloguing of, looking to the preservation of all public records throughout the state, which are now in the custody of the state and county officials, but not in current use, and, consequently, primarily of historical value". This division consists of six appointees of the governor, selected from the membership of patriotic and historical societies.

In 1905 South Carolina created an historical commission, unpaid, with a secretary at \$1,000 a year, to do this same work in the archives and to gather general historical information.

These are but instances. The work is being pressed throughout the union. The American Historical Association, through its Public Archives Commission, is investigating the condition of the archives in most of the states and already has secured reports on more than 30. Last year Prof. Jacob N. Bowman, then of the State Normal School at Bellingham, now of the faculty of the University of California, was appointed the member of the commission to report on Washington. During the last summer he spent considerable time at Olympia and was given free access to all records. It is quite certain that he gained a broader knowledge of what the state possesses in the way of records than any other man. His report, no doubt, was presented at the December (1906) meeting of the Association at Providence, R. I.

At the meeting of the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association in 1905 a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the California state archives, of which committee Prof. C. A. Duniway, of Stanford, was chairman. It found most of the old records piled in a basement vault, on the floor, on ledges and generally uncared for. At the request of Governor Pardee, the committee reported to him recommending as follows, the recommendations being quoted in full since they so accurately cover the situation in Washington:

"First. In the judgment of this committee, legislation should be devised to transfer to the custody of the state library all those portions of the archives of the state which have their chief value as historical material, while legal and business records should continue in charge of the officials to whose departments they properly belong. Such, indeed, has been the general scheme put in effect in recent years by the federal government as to the several departments of government and the library of Congress.

"Second. This legislation, having due regard for the circumstances under which the several categories of archives, and especially the main collection in charge of the secretary of state, have been collected and must be administered, should largely leave the decision of just what categories are to be put in charge of the state library to the discretion of the several chief executive officers, after consultation with the state librarian. One method, adopted in New York, is to direct by law that all papers not strictly legal in character are to go to the state library when more than five years old.

"Third. It is assumed that an archives division of the state library would be created to have the administration of the material which would thus be acquired. The officer or officers assigned to this division would classify, arrange and catalogue the archives in order to make them accessible. At present, particu-

larly in the older papers, there is an almost total lack of these systematic aids to the public service.

"Fourth. We wish to point out that if these general principles are approved by the legislature, as they have been by the secretary of state and the state librarian, the difficulties of adjustment and administration seem to require only a little patient study of actual conditions and a continuance of the spirit of co-operation for the public good already manifested by the officers most concerned.

"Fifth. The building and furnishing of adequate fireproof rooms—as we have recommended to the capitol commissioners—would not be a waste of public money, even if a building for the library and archives should be constructed in later years. The rapid accumulation of legal papers of the secretary of state in the routine business of his office will then require these rooms for his department."

ASHMUN N. BROWN.



## EARLIEST EXPEDITION AGAINST PUGET SOUND INDIANS.

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These "Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition" by Frank Ermatinger, a well known clerk of the Hudson Bay Company, were copied from the original document for me by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, private secretary of the Premier of British Columbia, and more recently editor of the Victoria Colonist. For more than three quarters of a century this earliest record of Puget Sound lay unnoticed and unread, until at my repeated and urgent request Mr. Gosnell obtained a loan of this and other matter connected with old Hudson Bay days, and kindly sent me this transcript, the only copy, I believe, in the United States. You will note I have made it the basis of Chapter IV of my last book, "McDonald of Oregon." I wish here to record my very great indebtedness to Mr. Gosnell for this and many other favors connected with my historical researches.

EVA EMERY DYE.

Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition fitted out under the command of Alex. R. McLeod, Esquire, Chief Trader at Fort Vancouver on the 17th of June, 1828, by

FRANK ERMATINGER, Clerk.

Friday, 13th, 1828.—Since the unfortunate murder of Mr. Alex. McKenzie and the four men under his charge, by the tribe called the Clallums, in Puget Sound, on their way back with an express from Port Langley, in January last, it appears to have been a decided impression of all that an expedition to their quarter would be most necessary, if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example, in order, if possible, to deter others from similar attempts in future. But since the arrival of the islanders at Vancouver 7th inst., every little arrangement has been kept so close from us, although the vessel *Gadboro*, Capt. Simpson, got under weigh yesterday, I believe for the purpose of a co-operation, we one and all began to doubt whether we were to be sent off or not, and should absolutely have despaired, had it not been, armorers were kept busily employed stocking rifles, repairing pistols, etc., etc., which we saw bore no connection with the trade. However, this morning affairs appeared more determined and a muster was made of all the effective men upon the ground, both free and hired and they were told by Chief Factor McLoughlin, of the necessity of going

off in search of the **murderous tribe**, and if possible, to make a salutary example of them, that **the honour of the whites was at a stake**, and that if we did not **succeed in the undertaking** it would be dangerous to be seen by the natives any distance from the Fort hereafter. All the men assented, or rather none appeared unwilling, but Challifoux, who happened to make a remark **mal a propos**, and was immediately turned out of the hall and his services refused. This answered well, as it led the men to think that volunteers only were wanted and all were ashamed to keep back. Those who from ill health or other causes were omitted in the muster expressed themselves much disappointed. No gentleman was this day named, but it was evident that Messrs. McLeod and Dease were aware of their appointment having so frequently tried the effects of their rifles together.

Sunday, 15th.—This evening we were talking amongst ourselves of the appointments for the expedition, and guessing who was likely to be upon it; Mr. Dease was of the party, and told Mr. Yale and I we might, he thought, prepare to follow it.

Monday, 16th.—The most of the day Messrs. McLeod and Dease equipping the men with their arms and a little ammunition, each, to try them with. The party will, independent of the vessel which extra manned for the occasion, consist of upwards of sixty men, headed by Mr. A. R. McLeod and Mr. Dease goes, and Mr. Yale and I upon the hint we got yesterday are prepared to follow as no further notice had been given us, except indeed my being told to take my watch with me. In fact, Mr. McLoughlin appears delicate in requesting anyone to go, least an unwillingness should be shown.

In the evening the men received a **regale** and the Iroquois went through a war dance, in character, before the Hall Door.

Tuesday, 17th.—At 4 o'clock all Mr. McLeod's arrangements were completed and the Vancouver Local Militia put in motion. In passing the Fort the men discharged their pieces and a salute of Cannon was returned upon our embarking, but the Captain of the "Eagle", either taken up on short notice, or what is more probable being short of Powder, instead of a round of Guns gave us three of Cheers. At 5 o'clock P. M. we made a start in five Boats, and went off in tolerable style, but a small distance down the River we was obliged to put on shore to Gum, where we encamped for the night.

Challifoux, since his disgrace, has solicited every one of us, in our turns, to intercede with Mr. McLoughlin for him and was this day by the influence, I believe, of Mr. Connolly, added to our number.

Wednesday, 18th.—We were upon the water this morning at half past three, were more than two hours ashore for breakfast, reached the mouth of the Cowlitz River at noon and encamped for the night at 5 o'clock when we all turned out to a target and were at complete counters, it was rifles against guns

and guns against Rifles, which afforded us argument for the night, and ended with every one being best pleased with his own shots. If we continue on at this rate, thought I, we may, or at least, like the Bow Bell Train bands may so far improve as to be enabled to discharge our pieces without blinking.

Thursday, 19th.—We commenced our march at half past four, and continued on at a brisk rate until the usual hour for breakfast, when we put ashore and remained two hours. We then resumed and reached the Cowlitz Portage at half past two. We here saw a solitary native, from whom, I believe, for I cannot speak positively, (as we are seldom advised with, altho' I was requested by Mr. McLeod to keep notes of the Voyage I am never told what is going on, but collect what little information I possess how and when I can), that a few horses can be hired a small distance from this, that the Clallums have divided, those who wish to stand neutral having separated from those who wish to resist, and that we may possibly find and punish them with much less trouble or danger than was at one time anticipated.

Our commander says little to us upon ordinary occasions. However, when we spoke relative to the news of the day, he begged us not to put implicit belief in all we heard and ventured to add: "God bless you gentlemen," the ties of consanguinity are so strongly cemented amongst the natives that our attack must be clandestinely made. We looked at each other.

Weather fine throughout the day. Deputy killed a small Deer of last spring, and several large ones were seen. In the evening we amused ourselves and the camp in sending off a few Rockets.

Friday, 20th.—At eight o'clock this morning the interpreter Laframboise was sent off to Indian Lodges to hire what horses we could collect, and Mr. Dease, without orders accompanied him. At ten they returned with a few Natives, who had four, and after some trouble and bargaining they were hired for the Trip, and in course of the day some more were added to the number, which with two here belonging to the company made fourteen that we have to commence the march with. Two and a half skins, I am told, is the stipulated price for the voyage to and fro, and some altercation proceeded from a wish to obtain five skins for each horse, which the natives say was the price they had from Mr. McMillan for the trip merely across, and again they wished to obtain Blankets or ammunition in payment. However, Mr. McLeod would not give either, and threatens if they were not contented with Stronds, etc., he would send back his provisions to the Fort and feed his men upon horse-flesh whenever he found any.

In the evening the men were sent to make a few Pack Saddles. Some light showers through the day. Several of the men were off hunting, but only saw a red deer or two, at least they killed none. Those who remained at the Camp kept up almost a continuous firing.

Old **Towlitz**, alias Lord St. Vincent, was amongst our visitors today and is to be added to the party, as assistant Interpreter.

Saturday, 21st.—We this morning commenced operations by hauling up our Boats and putting them **en cache**. The first of the party then got under way at half past seven and stopped for breakfast at nine. The rest started as they got ready and continued to arrive at our resting place until half past eleven. We then began to make a few more saddles, as it appeared that only four new ones were got ready last night. We resumed our march in the same order again at half past one, and encamped for the night at six o'clock. Our march this day looked more like that of gipsies than a force collected for the purpose we are. A light shower or two about noon, but the weather upon the whole fine and fresh. We hired a few more horses today, of which there appears to be no want on our road, but the fault of their not having been found before appears to be rather in our own operations than otherwise, as the Indians are very anxious to lend them and that, too, at what I think a very moderate remuneration. Had a man been sent off from the Fort a day before, everything could have been ready at the Portage by our arrival, or even had Laframboise, or one of us been immediately sent off upon our landing; and the driving a hard bargain with the poor wretches not made an object, a Day at least would have been here gained. Too great a sacrifice has already been made to forward the expedition, to now stand upon such trifles.

Sunday, 22nd.—Our horses were loaded and we off at half past four, and at eight we stopped for breakfast, but like our order of yesterday it was nine before the last of our men arrived. Mr. Yale and I here hired a horse each, to pay for which we had some trouble before we could borrow thirty, etc. Dease had been more successful and was mounted yesterday. We resumed our route at twelve and encamped at five o'clock.

This night a watch was commenced to consist of four men and a gentleman for four hours each watch, and in crying "All's Well," which they were ordered to do, at intervals, a loud laugh was heard in the Camp for which the men received a good scolding. The cause was this, they had solicited and obtained permission to trade a fat young horse for their supper which they were just cooking when the sentinel cried his "All's Well," and the cook elated with his extra good cheer before him answered "in the kettle." This set the camp a laughing and called down a severe reprimand from Mr. McLeod, who after repeating the word laugh almost twenty times threatened them as many, that the next time they did so they should lose their wages. One more incorrigible than the rest sneaked behind and said in a half whisper, that the devil might take him if, when he lost his wages, he would be at the trouble to go in search of them. We now laugh in our turn but with less noise. A letter was received from Mr. Mc-



Millan addressed to Mr. McLoughlin dated the 10th of May. It had been forwarded by an Indian Chief (Schunawa), who was killed upon his road thence. But the letter had been taken the greatest care of, and was forwarded from Tribe to Tribe until this morning when it fell into the hands of Mr. Dease. Mr. McLeod opened it and merely told us the date. Mr. Dease asked him if there was any news, No, was the laconic answer. However, in the most pointed manner, he immediately turned to Laframboise and Deputy, who were by him, and detailed the contents. This is not the only instance, in which great contempt has been shown us, or our opinions slighted. It might be thought, that the danger or cause of our jaunt would be sufficiently galling to our feelings without adding any more weight by a forbidding and repulsive conduct, on the part of our leader, at least, we may think without vanity that our conversation and confidence are equal to those whom he thinks so worthy of both.

Monday, 23rd.—We were under way at half past five, were the usual time at breakfast, arrived at the end of the Portage at half past one. We here found a canoe of the Company's left by Mr. Hanson and hired two more from the natives. The men of their own accord immediately commenced making their paddles. The watch of the men altered from four to two hours but ours stands at four.

La Penzer, who has, since we left the Fort, been in a most depressed state, to-night when told it was his watch confessed himself too much afraid to stand it. Arguments or threats were of no avail. "**Je ne suis pas capable, Monsieur,**" was always the answer, and he was ultimately given up as incurable. I had taken the greater interest to persuade him to do something to divert his mind, being a Thompsons River man and the more ashamed of him upon that account, but could not succeed. Sleep alone he sought and to it I left him.

Tuesday, 24th.—At seven o'clock this morning Laframboise and a party of men were sent off in two small Canoes, to trade or borrow some of the larger kind, and Le Etang, our guide, with another party went overland, on horseback, to meet them at an appointed place, where, after giving the horses in charge to an Indian, who is to keep them until our return, they are to assist in working the Canoes here. At a small distance from the Camp Le Etang killed a Deer which he brought to us and immediately took his departure again. It was thought unnecessary that any gentleman should accompany either party, confidence being put in Laframboise for the purpose.

This afternoon two Indians arrived from Cheenook with a letter from the "Cadboro," Capt. Simpson, dated as late as the 20th, so that we have now a consolation for our lost time, for, had we got on as we ought our chance of seeing her in the Sound would have been small. All I fear is that this confounded note will be made an excuse for more tardy movements. One of the free Iroquois killed us another deer. I pass over fur-



ther notice of our practice of firing and it may be considered a regular turnout every day, however, it may not be amiss to note that the most of the shooting is rather from pride than the want of practice, for it is the good marksmen only who do it, and when their own ammunitions runs short they assist the diffidents to get through theirs, 800 shots at least, an avertge of ten per man, were fired today to the danger of those who found it necessary to go a few yards from the camp. Mr. Dease has the stores in charge, and intimated that the stock would not stand out, if we continue on at such a rate.

Wednesday, 25th.—At five o'clock p. m. Laframboise and Le Etang returned in eight canoes, including the two they took off, but four men short, whom they left as it appeared to me in rather a curious manner with the natives, looking after another canoe. They had very little trouble in obtaining six, and could possibly, so the guide says, have got a few more. Would not a great deal of time have been saved by our all going where the canoes are instead of remaining inactive here? The distance is short. The news is that the Clallums expect us and have collected at their farthest village, that they have formed many plans to ward off our balls, wetting their blankets is the most approved amongst them, and the natives of this quarter wish to accompany us in order to revenge the death of four of their Tribe, whom they have killed.

Several of our men were out at the chase, and all saw a Deer but few brought us venison. Gervaise the freeman killed four and Chalifoux one.

Thursday, 26th.—This morning the four men left behind yesterday, after some misery, returned to the Camp with a good large Canoe, and Laframboise with eight men, was sent off again. At five o'clock he returned with four more canoes. Heavy rains throughout the day.

For want of other amusement, during the rain, Mr. Work's Chart of Puget Sound was produced and something like a plan, for the first time laid open, which was merely this: When we see the murderers, said Mr. McLeod, we must endeavor to come to a parley, and obtain the woman, who, by the by, I had scarcely ever heard mentioned before today, that was taken by them when our people were killed, and after we have her in our possession—What then? said I. Why then to them **pell mell**. Messrs. Yale, Dease and I at once admitted it to be a most laudable wish to set the poor woman at liberty, which we thought could always be done at the price of a few Blankets and without so many men coming so far, but to make it the primitive object of our expedition, we never understood, nor could we, we added, ever agree to it. The business was then wound up with a short account of the influence her father had amongst his tribe to do mischief to the whites, upon whose account her liberty was at any consideration to be obtained by us.

Friday, 27th.—We made over our horses and saddles, cords, &c., &c., to an old Indian's care, at least, as many of the former

as may be found for they have not, with the exception of eighteen that LeEtang took, been seen since we arrived here, and the men having hired a few for themselves the number is greater than might be expected.

The canoes were in the course of the morning allotted, they are of a small kind for our purpose, but will, I trust, make a shift. We have made it a point to praise them, being well aware that it would not require much to induce Mr. McLeod to turn back, if a tolerable excuse could be made. Laframboise who ostensibly, is the commander, certainly merits praise in getting us thus far, and while he humors Mr. McLeod, by giving everything the most favorable construction it will bear, he endeavors to get the business on *doucement*, and was I inclined to find fault with either he or the guide it would be for not proposing our going immediately to where the Canoes were hired, but perhaps they did so, and the measure was discountenanced by Deputy and Gervaise, two leading members of the Council.

At two o'clock P. M. we got under way in eleven Canoes of different sizes, and proceeded on for three hours and a half, when we encamped. No Indians accompany us, except Lord St. Vincent. It was with great difficulty that La Ecuyer was induced to embark. He said he would have no objections to remain and take care of the Horses, if a couple of men were left to take care of him.

Deputy and Gervaise were added to the officers' watch and our time altered from four to two hours, and a resolve proclaimed that any gent. found sleeping during the day time should be Cobbed! ! ! Yes, that's the word.

Saturday, 28th.—We got under way at five o'clock, but before breakfast we were merely running about for canoes, that we hired, and left two of our small ones. At 10 we embark again, Mr. Yale and I together, and with us a native to act as a Clallum interpreter. We continued on in fine, calm weather until six o'clock when we encamped. Just below where we stopped for the night, we saw a few of the Puy-ye-lips Tribe, but they were so much frightened, by the continued firing of our men firing at the Eagles that they paddled off, and it was with great exertion that our canoe could approach them and come to a parley. Our guide told Mr. Yale and I, as a great secret, that the information obtained, was, that the Clallums had withstood some liberal offers for the woman in order to restore her and that they wish to compromise the murder of our men.

Sunday, 29th.—We were upon the water at five this morning, stopped three hours to breakfast, and encamped opposite, or rather between, two small villages of the Soquarmis. Several small canoes of these fellows came to our encampment, but did not debark, and one of them having a Powder Horn upon him, belonging to one of our deceased men, little ceremony was used by Laframboise in dispossessing him of it. We received little or no information, but they offer themselves to us as auxiliaries, and were told, I believe, that we fought our

own battles. However, the chief received a present and was told that he might embark with us, alone. They had heard the Vessel's Guns. Just before we encamped the Interpreter went off to one of the villages, and some of the men followed in order, I suppose, to trade themselves a few shellfish. Mr. Dease wished from curiosity to go too, and asked Mr. McLeod, May I go, Sir? Go if you choose, was the answer, rather sharply. I beg your pardon, Sir, said Dease, but really I did not hear you. Do as you like, was repeated. No, Sir, it is not as I like, if you want me here I will remain. I do not want you there, nor I do not want you here, was the reply of Mr. McLeod, in a most sulky manner. Dease, near choked with irritation and muttered as he turned to Mr. Yale and me. Damme, it is too bad, we begged of him to say nothing more upon the subject at present.

Monday, 30th.—We left our encampment at four o'clock this morning, crossed to the Village, when we exchange two of our small Canoes for a larger one, the chief then embarked and four canoes of his tribe followed us, at a small distance. We took breakfast at the usual time, but were much shorter about it. At one o'clock we saw two small Canoes of the same Tribe, and the one Mr. Yale and I were in gave them Chase. They debarked upon a point and hid themselves amongst the Woods, but upon the old Indian who was with us calling to them, they made their appearance. We learnt from them, that a few Clallums, are at a small distance, upon a portage over which we have to cross, we at once, upon the advice of our Indian Interpreters, &c., put ashore and were to remain all very quiet in order, if possible, to take them by surprise during the night. The Iroquois, Owhees, and Cheenook slaves painted themselves ready for battle. But all the ceremony must be rendered a burlesque by our men, at least, one or two of them discharging their pieces and behold, we to mend the matter, send off rockets! ! ! Really one would think it was purposely done to warn the natives.

We heard the Vessel's guns just about Dark.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—At one o'clock this morning we embarked, and took with us one of the natives we saw yesterday noon, for what purpose we did not know. He was in our canoe with the Clallum interpreter. Our crew consisted of one young Canadian (Canada dit Encan) one half breed (Canotte), two Iroquois (Little Michel and Louis Frize), two Owhees (Tourawheene and Cawinai) and two Cheenook slaves (Antoine and Nastee), Mr. Yale and I passengers. With Mr. McLeod was Laframboise and with Dease, Old Towlitz, so that from the Interpreters being thus separated, it was necessary when the most trifling question was to be asked by Laframboise, that we should get near to each other, and even then speak louder than could be wished. We continued on slowly with the greatest caution of more than two hours; occasionally, however, stopping for consultations amongst the Interpreters, (which were kept

entirely secret from us, nor repeated to Mr. McLeod, in French while we were near, lest I presume, we should understand) as we thought, to a portage, but all at once we found our canoe alone, and the Indians changed their places to immediately behind Mr. Yale and I, and appeared to solicit us to advance by signs, occasionally holding up seven of their fingers and uttering the word Clallums. I thought they wished to debark and told Michel the foreman so, who no sooner put the canoe ashore than out they got, and with them Yale and five of the crew, and were instantly making along the shore. When I saw this, I also left the canoe and ordered the Canadian to remain with it, while with the other two I ran after the rest. We overtook them just as they were in sight of two Indian Lodges, (there might be more at a distance) situated close to the woods, to one of which the Indians without pointed and said Clallums. It was the furthest off and far the smallest of the two. Mr. Yale and I got upon a large fallen tree, close alongside of it, behind which I proposed we should get and fire, if we found ourselves outnumbered or worsted. The Indians were evidently asleep when we arrived, the day was just breaking, but upon hearing the noise we made, awoke, and a man put his head out of the Lodge, and upon seeing us (however he could not, I think, distinctly distinguish who we were) have a most piteous sigh. Tirer Dessus was called out and four or five shots were immediately off. I saw two men, I thought, fall, but whether dead I could not say. The rest took the edge of the woods, but some of our men were there before them and the firing became general. Eight or ten shots were discharged in rapid succession, I remained stationary and saw that Mr. Dease, Laframboise, Le Etang, and a few of the men had joined the party from the Canoes behind. The confusion was great and we were apprehensive that the men would kill each other by shooting in opposite directions. From the natives, there was now no danger, as those in the other Lodges remained quiet. In vain did we call out to the men to spare the women; take care of yourselves. They continued on in the same order until they thought the whole of the inmates were killed. In fact, one half could not understand us when we did call. Two families, I believe, were killed, three men, two or three women, a boy and a girl. To this point I cannot speak positively, as I saw none after they were down, but have the information from those who killed them, however, it was made a doubt whether the men were dead or not, as they were not seen after, but I am almost positive that I was not mistaken in the two I saw drop. The truth is we did not lose time to look after them, but went off to the other Lodge, and remained there a few minutes, for Mr. McLeod, who surrounded by the remains of the party, joined us.

Well, really, Gentlemen, said he, what is the meaning of all this confusion? Why, Sir, answered I, with some warmth, for I was piqued such equivocating conduct, it proceeds from you not letting us know, that we were so near the Clallums; we



were led to understand that they were upon a portage, and here we find our canoe alone and amongst them before we are aware of it. If, added I, Mr. McLeod, you will only let us know your plans, you have young men with you ready at any risk to execute them for you. My dear Sir, replied he, I do not doubt it, but how can I form plans? I know no more what is going on than yourselves! ! Mr. Dease now observed that we ought to know the arrangements, as a few of the men appeared to be aware of them, and if, added he, if we get any information it is from them. This touched Mr. McLeod, and he told Dease that it was not the first time, he had heard this same remark from him, and that he should answer for it hereafter. Really Mr. McLeod, said I, this is not a time or before these men, for altercations amongst ourselves. If we have done wrong—I do not say you have done wrong, it is all well as it has happened, and after a few more casual observations preparations were made to continue en route.

We found a fine large canoe, said by the Indians to be the one in which the murderers followed Mr. McKenzie, able to contain 20 Men; it appeared too new; This we took and embarked, without once enquiring who was in the other Lodge. I saw a good many men there and it was well for them that a council did not sit to determine their fate, for I should have voted hard against the whole as I thought it more than probable that they were Clallums also, and betrayed the other Lodge to save themselves. We could at all events have been justified in using them as such. The head of one of the families killed is said to be the brother-in-law of the principal murderer and the spot of the Camp near where Mr. McKenzie was killed.

Having given a brief account of what I was myself a witness to, I shall now note a few observations which passed at the Canoes. Mr. McLeod, I am told, reached our canoe just as the first shots were fired. There, said he, is four shots, the four Indians are dead, and one or two of the men were occasionally running off to the Lodge, but were called back, however, some would not return, observing that they did not come to look on. But when the last shots were heard, then cried Mr. McLeod is treachery. One of the men told him that if he thought so they had better go to our assistance. Oh! no, was the answer, surely eight men were enough for so few Indians. In the meantime he heard all was over and left the canoes. When along the road to us he observed, here I who ought to have been the first find myself the last.

We got to the portage just after sunrise. The Clallums we expected to find, were off, but their fires still alight. We passed on until we got off Cape Townshend, were we put ashore for Breakfast and saw the Cadboro'. All the Indians except Interpreters left us. Messrs. McLeod and Yale went on board, and we proceeded on for a mile, to a better spot for our Camp. The Gentlemen returned at 4 o'clock. Mr. McLeod in much



better spirits from the arrangements of Capt. Simpson, who he told us had nearly succeeded in getting the woman, at least he has Hostages on board for her, said he. In the evening I was sent to tell the Captain that the land Party would be ready to get under way with him tomorrow morning. The men were sent back, who accompanied me, to the camp, but I avail myself of an invitation to remain on board for the night.

Wednesday, 2nd.—This morning the Captain was prepared, but lost part of the Tide waiting for the men from shore, when they joined, the Vessel got under way and the canoes were towed for a few miles. Anchored off Protection Island and opposite a bay, where we saw a village of Clallums. The men encamped upon the island and were watered from the Vessel.

Two women came to us from a Village, but what their object was I could not learn.

I remained on board until next night and before going ashore I told the Captain that I would propose an attack upon the village off us, to which he said he could soon run us close in, but upon mentioning it to Mr. McLeod, he merely observed, without consideration, that Captain Simpson was aware his object was to proceed on.

Mr. Yale very ill.

Thursday, 3rd.—We again kept close to the vessel and followed with the Tide until we came to New Dungeness, where we cast anchor, as near to a large Village of Clallums as the Vessel could be towed. Mr. Dease was sent with the men having water from the vessel, to a sand bank some distance off, to cook and ordered to return at night. A chief came off to us and received every attention, in order that he might, I suppose, return again. He promised to use his influence in restoring the woman and to visit us to-morrow. In the evening before Mr. Dease had returned, a large body of Indians collected, armed, singing and yelping before us. The Captain put the Vessel in a posture of attack, and being apprehensive of the safety of our men ashore, he would immediately have commenced upon some large Canoes that were making off in their direction, two cannons were levelled and every preparation made, without a dissenting voice, but the seamen had no sooner got the lighted match over the touchhole ready, than Mr. McLeod run to the Captain and said, here a fellow of yours Captain wishes to send the whole to Hell, not at all, Sir, he will do nothing without orders, then turning to the man who had the match called out to him to lay it down. Here was a fine chance lost. The Indians went off in triumph, and Mr. Dease after seeing the men well surfeited with pea soup at the expense of the Captain's water returned and we all slept on board. Much talk, to procure the woman, but not a word of the ostensible cause of our Trip. This Helen of ours, said I, will cause another seige as long as that of Troy.

Friday, 4th.—Everything remained in much the unsettled state as yesterday and bore evident marks of indecision. This led to

an altercation between our commandèr and the Captain. The latter having alluded upon deck, to something that Mr. McLeod had previously told him with respect to his plans, I did not myself hear correctly what it was, the former denied it, but the Captain was positive and said he could appeal to any gentleman present, whether it was not so, all were silent as the appeal was not directly made, and Mr. McLeod still persisting that he had not said any such thing, ultimately irritated the Captain, who with some warmth repeated you did, Sir, upon my honour, you did and my honour I hold sacred, and then left the deck. Mr. Dease and I were ordered to escort the men to the same bank again, to cook their peas, but returned immediately they had done. They made application to go to the main shore, observing the natives would think they were afraid, however, were not allowed.

The little chief was off again, and a Sinahomis chief called the Frenchman, with a few of his followers also visited us, the bringing of the woman still evaded. Much was said about her, to which I paid no attention. Mr. Dease intimated to me that in a conversaion he had with Mr. McLeod to-day, the latter had said he would presently drive him mad, and told Mr. Dease to beg of me, for God's sake to let him alone. This quite surprised me, as I am not conscious of a single observation having fallen from me that ought to have given the slightest offence. I have certainly said that I wished the business was brought to a point, as by our measures we were giving the Indians too much time to collect if they wished to resist, or to go off if they do not, and upon one occasion I remarked that it was too far to come to see the Cadboro' fire a gun. At another time I told Mr. McLeod that Mr. Connolly would be anxious to be off for the interior. Let him go was the reply, how the deuce can he go, Sir, said I, and his men here. Well then let him stop. If these casual remarks have tended to distract Mr. McLeod I am sorry that I made them, but it was with no view to do so. Mr. Dease went further, for he proposed to him, so he told Mr. Yale and I to take the command and go ashore with the men, if Mr. McLeod felt any reluctance to go himself.

This morning the little chief and another Indian of considerable importance in the village, the former primly dressed in a tinsel laced cloth coat, came off in a small canoe by themselves to the Vessel and were as usual kindly received, but after strutting the deck for some time the Frenchman's canoe was seen coming alongside, when from some cause or other they took an abrupt departure. Mr. McLeod called out to them **arreter, arreter, le donc**, and all was in an uproar, but the Indians seeing the bustle only made the more haste to get away. He then called to the men **Tirer dessus** and guns were immediately presented **Arreter** they were lowered. **Tirer donc** and six or seven shots are immediately off, one after the other. The report of the guns brought the Captain upon deck, who had only a few minutes before left it, and asked who had given orders

to fire. It was I, said Mr. McLeod. Well, Sir, you had no right so to do on board this Vessel, I am commander here. Why did not they stop when I called to them, was the reply. Sir, said the Captain, with some warmth, they were under the protection of the ships, and if you had told me that you wished to detain them I would have made the smallest boy I have do it. In the meantime a canoe of the Iroquois were off to the bodies, the Little Chief they found dead, and he was stript of his clothes and scalped in an instant, and the latter, was placed upon a pole. They were then about to commence upon the other, who we perceived was not dead, and at the request of the Captain, they were ordered to desist. He was brought on board, and it was found that the ball had only slightly grazed his skull. The wound was dressed, he received a Blanket, and a guard was placed over him. As the business has begun it is necessary now, said the Captain, to make the most of it, to which purpose the ship was a second time prepared and without further ceremony a cannonading commenced upon the Village, which appeared instantly deserted. There, said the Captain, now is your time, Mr. McLeod, to land and destroy it. Embarque or was called out in all quarters and the canoes were immediately manned. Mr. Yale (still seriously ill) and I were just getting down the side of the Vessel, when Mr. McLeod put his head over the gunwales and faltered *Oh nos gens ce ne vaut pas la peine*, and we ascended again. Well, then, said the Captain, all we have done is useless. We ought now to destroy the Village, and after some few words, that I did not distinctly hear Mr. McLeod said, well, Sir, since you insist upon it—No, No, Mr. McLeod, I do not, called out the Captain. However, we embarked and went ashore. When just landing a few hundred yards above the village three cannons were fired upon it and we destroyed the whole. There was about thirty good canoes of which we took four for our return and the rest were broke or Burnt. A large quantity of provisions, train oil, etc., etc., which after the men had helped themselves to what they chosed was with the buildings also set fire to. A musket, Mr. McKenzie's bedcloth, together with a few trifling articles belonging to his Party were found. Upon the whole the damage done to their property is great, and will, I trust, be seriously felt for some time to come, but I could wish we had been allowed to do more to the rascals themselves. In their hurry to decamp when the vessel's guns were fired, they left two small children whom we have on board, until some arrangements can be made. On our return to the Vessel we saw a body of natives a little distance from us, but when it was proposed that we should go and make them retreat Mr. McLeod said the men must have time and no further notice was taken of them during the day, yet they remained stationary, and in the evening a few of them came opposite us and fired two or three shots.

Our commander is evidently pleased with the day's success,

and is in the highest spirits. However, little credit is due us for the destruction of the property.

Sunday, 6th.—We remained on board, inactive, and the natives showed themselves upon the point. A negotiation was commenced. The Frenchman acting for us, to exchange the man taken yesterday for the woman so much has been said about. The two children were put on shore this morning, and we saw a native come and carry them off.

At dinner we had an extra glass of wine, and the consequence was an altercation between Mr. McLeod and I, with respect to our measures. He said he had acted upon his orders, and I answered he was wrong to receive such orders, as it was impossible to act upon them without appearing like cowards before our men and the Indians. The fact is, if as stated, the orders must have been given in contradiction to the opening speech made to the men.

Monday, 7th.—This day our heroine was brought on board, and the prisoner set at liberty. The news from the natives that the friends of the seven they make out to have killed upon the first instant had to revenge the cause of their deaths, killed two of the principal murderers of Mr. McKenzie, &c., and that the shot from the Vessel killed eight, that one native is missing, which will, according to their computation, make twenty-five. This, I believe, to be a made-up story amongst themselves, however, as so little has been actually done, it is as well that the report should get to Cheenook and be made the most of.

Tuesday, 8th.—Early this morning the Vessel, in consequence of Mr. McLeod's arranging of last night, got under way, and seen us back to the place. About noon we took an abrupt departure, without having come to any settlement with the natives, either for war or peace, or ever having, to my knowledge, once mentioning to them the object of our coming through the Sound, at least the murder of Mr. McKenzie and his men was never enquired into, nor their names once mentioned. However, we commenced our march, leaving the Captain to shift for himself. At the village where the natives were said to have followed them from we debarked and burnt it. But I here note my candid opinion that, if a single individual had been seen about, even this would not have been done. A promise was made to pass at the Frenchman's Camp, who had not yet been settled with for the interest he took in our **Cartel**, yet this was not observed. The watch altered from four to ten men, this time as before.

Tuesday, 15th.—We reached the Fort this morning, without having met with anything worth observation on our return.



## DIALECTIC VARIANTS OF THE NISQUALLY LINGUISTIC ROOT STOCK OF PUGET SOUND.

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The Indian tribes of the Puget Sound country, so far as discoverable, possessed no written tongue. After eleven years of intimate life and intimate observation among them, such as their physician alone could have, I have failed to find the slightest trace in language or in life of any reference or indication to the existence, at any time, of a written tongue. Most Indian tribes possess, to a greater or lesser degree, some sort of sign language, but even this was most rudimentary among the Puget Sound Indians and was largely limited to arrangements of rocks, or twigs, or such things to indicate the nature, number, size, or success of a hunting or fishing party that had passed that way. Even this, as I say, was more rudimentary and crude, as were their limited carvings. Indeed so limited was their range in this respect that to this day, when a more intimate relation with the white man and his methods makes it necessary to have a word meaning "writing", the same word is used for writing, for painting, and for a carving—for a letter, a word, a book, a picture, a statue, or a bust. This is significant in that it represents either the absence of any need of such symbols, or the poverty of the tongue in that respect, or, what is perhaps truer still, both of these conditions.

One who has never met such conditions in the study of what is usually termed a barbaric tongue, does not realize the entirely extraneous difficulties that beset one's path. This may or not be one of the conditions causing a scarcity of students systematically studying the tongues of the tribes of the Tulalip Agency. Eells and Wickersham, particularly Eells, have done much along these lines with regard to the Indians of the Puyallup Agency. I know only of Gibbs and Chirouse who have done anything at all with regard to the Indians of the Tulalip Agency. The work of Gibbs was rather insignificant and consisted merely of the compilation of 45 words in the Snohomish tongue, while he accompanied the Gov. Stevens party as one of its members in its treaty-making tour. These 45 words are on file in the Library of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology in Washington City, and Pilling refers to them in his bibliography of the Salishan tongues. The work of Chirouse, also referred to in the Pilling bibliography, was wider, larger, and more comprehensive but it is, from a philologic standpoint, full of errors and discrepancies necessarily incidental to the manner and in-



tent in which and with which it was undertaken. Chirouse was a missionary and his object was to acquire a means of communication as rapidly as possible in the line of his work. The white man's theology was new to the Indian, to this Indian for Chirouse was his first missionary, and the Indian therefore possessed no aboriginal equivalent for the white man's theological terms. Chirouse, to bridge the gap, proceeded to invent them. He was a Frenchman so he had the Indians attempt to pronounce his French words, the inaccurate result he put down in many, many cases as the Indian word, when it was merely an Indian corruption of a French word. Also, he used the object method in attempting to compile a working vocabulary, and in return he secured many generic and descriptive terms which he took to be substantive forms. For example, he would hold up a peach and ask the Indian to tell him what it was. The Indian had never seen a peach among the Indians but he had, perhaps, seen a white man eating one, so he replied that it was something to eat—that is, food. This error and hundreds of similar ones occur all through the Chirouse manuscript. The Indian at Tulalip has no word for each particular kind of blossom but has a generic term meaning "flower"—they do not distinguish the different kinds of flowers. Father Chirouse has unwittingly entered this one, same generic term all through his vocabulary under and after the different names, white man's names, for flowers—rose, violet, etc., all the same word. From his standpoint and with his object in view, this is not a defect—he was attempting to get into communication as quickly as possible and his vocabulary is full of short cuts from a missionary standpoint, but dangerous and deceptive ones from a philologic one. Nevertheless, in his own way and in his own field, the good father has done a tremendous work and is the pioneer in that work. To utilize that material safely, however, one must have a working knowledge of the tongue equal to or greater than that of the father himself.

I presume that the scarcity of original work in the genuine Indian tongue is due to the prevalent use of the Chinook jargon by the Northwestern tribes. But whatever may be the cause, the effect, the condition is a striking one.

With the exception of the Indians of the Lummi Reservation of this Agency, the Indians of the agency speak dialectic variants of one common root stock, the Nisqually, as it is usually called. The Lummi tongue is radically different from all of these dialectic variants. The Lummi tongue clearly bears a more northerly relation. The dialectic variants, however, spoken by the majority of our Indians of the Tulalip Agency are related, containing some words entirely different, many words, distantly

related, and a large number of words very closely related, so much so that there is only occasional difficulty in making one's self understood when using one dialect in the home of another dialect.

In the Indian tongue under consideration there are phonetic groups for which we have absolutely no equivalent, and for which it is necessary to invent symbols, the commonest of these is the well-known guttural sound, so-called, but which I have always termed a velar explodent since that term more nearly describes its source, origin, and nature. This sound must be heard to be understood and no possible arrangement of English letters can represent it accurately and faithfully. It is the occurrence of such conditions in an unwritten tongue that make so much difficulty in putting that tongue upon paper in accurate and permanent form, which, of course, must be done before any analysis or serious systematic study of the tongue is possible.

In the Snohomish or Sdoh-hohbsh tongue, which is the predominant tongue of the Tulalip Agency, there are many of our common English sounds, as well as others. Among the consonants there are certain sounds that are, to the Indian ear and mouth, absolutely synonymous. Thus "b", "m", and "p" are synonymous and interchangeable. Thus the word "si-ab" or "se-ab" (compare with Hindustanee "sahib"), meaning "sir" or "chief", and exactly similar in force to the Latin "vir", may be expressed as "si-am", "si-ab", or "si-ap", all three forms are correct and equally so. So also the Indian word mee-mah", meaning "small", may be expressed as "mee-mahd", "bee-bahd", "mee-bahd", or "bee-mahd", with equal correctness. The sound "d" and "n" are synonymous in the same manner and the word "father" may be rendered "bahn" or "bahd"—"ban" or "bad".

Chirouse, who was himself an European, a Frenchman, comments on the similarity of the Snohomish tongue to various European tongues, as follows:

"It is remarkable that in this Indian tongue we find words that are exactly those of some European language. For example: Baba or Papa, father, is found in the Latin, French, English, etc. THIS or TIS is exactly a duplication of the English THIS. TIS SWATIRHTEN, this earth. The Latin CITO and the Snohomish KITO are *unum et idem* in their meaning, that is, "soon" quick, as soon", etc. The Italians say ADESSO, "at present", and the Snohomish say ADESSA. The Italian says COSI, "so" or "thus", and the Yakima says COS and IKOSI, "so" or "thus". The Italian MA, "still", is exactly the Snohomish MA or EMA, "still". The old Irish PI or SI, "she", is the Snohomish SI, "she". In the Irish tongue we find all of the gutturals and the hard consonants that abound in the Snohomish tongue, moreover there are also a great number of words that have the same roots and the same meanings. For example,

"heavy"—the Indians say ROM with the guttural R. Pmeap, "blackberry". Snohomish Gdmearh, "blackberry". Cead, "permission", Snohomish, sead, "permission". Peo, or teo, "this"; Snohomish, TEA, "this". GUALA, "shoulder"; Snohomish, Gualap, "shoulder". TIOMNA, "will"; Snohomish or Klikitat, TEMNA, "will". The German DA, "there", "at" is exactly the Snohomish DA or TA, "there", or "at". The English SEND and the German SENDEN are the same as the Snohomish SEND or TSEND, that is, "to send".

The above remarkable analogies could be continued in many respects—Latin and French "et", "and"; Snohomish ETA, "and". In fact the analogies can be continued all through the language and the legendary lore. Under the operation of Grimms' laws the analogies widen and increase remarkably. It is interesting in this connection to recall that the Indian tongues of the North Central plains are said to be remarkably similar to the Welsh or Cymric tongue. Clearly the Indian brother is not unrelated to the rest of mankind—clearly he is but an edition bound in red.

In some of its constructions the Indian tongues, the particular ones under consideration in the heading of this paper, are remarkably simple—in others remarkably complex.

For instance, tense or time may be indicated in Snohomish by prefixing TO for the past and TLO for the future, to the ordinary form for the present tense or time. Thus:

Us-huttlh-chud.....	I am sick.
To-us-huttlh-chud.....	I was sick.
Tlo-us-huttlh-chud.....	I shall be sick.

That is all there is to indicating time verbally, that is to say by verbal form, meaning the form of the verb.

So, also, the Snohomish tongue possesses what might, for lack of better term, be called personal verbal enclitics, the suffixing of which to any substantive indicating action or conditions will convert it into a corresponding verb. These enclitics never exist independently and are never so used. They may be indicated thus:

I .....	Chud.
You, thou .....	Chuh-hoh.
He, she .....	Tah, tsah.
We .....	Chaylh.
You, ye .....	Chuh-lup.
They .....	Tlay-ill or Ahl-gwah.

Their uses may best be indicated by example, thus:

Us-huttlh .....	Sickness
Us-huttlh-CHUD .....	I am sick.
Us-huttlh-CHUH-HOH .....	You are sick.

This expedient, with that for indicating tense or time, affords a wonderful and simple range and variety.

Substantives are converted from the singular form to the plural form chiefly by duplicating the first syllable and making the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable long, thus: SKOH-BY, dog. SKOHB-KOHB-BY, dogs. Sometimes this is also done by changing merely the quantity of the vowel of the singular form from short to long, thus: CHUH-GWAHSS, wife. CHAH-GWAHSS, wives.

Diminutives are formed in a manner somewhat similar to that for forming plurals, save that in diminutives the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable is always short, thus: STOHBSH, man. STOHTOHBSH, little man. KAH-KAH, crow. KAH-KAH-KAH, 1 little crow.

The cardinal numbers are as follows:

Dchoh .....	One
Sah-lih .....	Two
Tlay-wh .....	Three
Bohss .....	Four
Tsuh-lants .....	Five
Il-lahts .....	Six
Tsohks .....	Seven
Tkah-chee .....	Eight
Hwulh .....	Nine
Oh-lub .....	Ten

Eleven becomes "ten and one", OH-LUB ETA DCHOH, and so on up to twenty. Up to one hundred the multiples of ten are formed by adding the syllable AHTCHEE to the cardinal number. Therefore twenty becomes SAH-LIH-AHTCHEE, and twenty-one becomes SAH-LIH-AHTCHEE ETA DCHOH. This will give the method of formation of all cardinal numbers up to one hundred which is SBUH-KWAHTCHEE. The numbers above one hundred, up to two hundred, are formed in a manner similar to the numbers below one hundred. One hundred and two become SBUH-KWAHTCHEE ETA SAY-LIH. Two hundred becomes SAH-LIH SBUH-KWAHT CHEE, the meaning and construction being obvious. These numerals would be used for counting ordinary objects of no particular class. **Round** objects would not be so counted; the latter are indicated by adding AILTSS and so DCHOH-AILTSS becomes, by elision, DCHAILTSS, and four round objects would be BOHSS-AILTSS with the word indicating the particular objects concerned or counted.

The cardinal numerals become ordinary by suffixing AURH, thus DCHOH-AURH, first, SAH-LIH-AURH, second, etc.



By prefixing the syllable US the cardinal numbers become multiplicatives, thus: US-SAH-LIH, double. US-TLAY-WH, treble. So a further change may be made as follows:

DY-AHTLH .....	Once.
TSAH-BAB .....	Twice
TLAY-WH-AHTLH .....	Thrice
BOHSS-AHTLH.....	Four times

And so on, adding the syllable AHTLH to the cardinal number, for the remaining numbers.

It should have been noted, in connection with verbs, that any verb form becomes interrogative by suffixing the syllable OH, thus:

US-HUTTTLH-CHUD .....	I am sick.
US-HUTTTLH-CHUD-OH .....	Am I sick?

As in Latin, for the purpose of avoiding a hiatus or gaping, elision is quite common, so that when a word ends in a vowel sound that sound is elided if the succeeding word begins with a vowel sound.

Many pages, indeed a book might be written and yet not fully cover all the possibilities of this subject. The observations herein set down are more or less haphazard and disconnected results of occasional observations, the writer having very little leisure time in which to do more than jot down memoranda in the way of collecting data for future digestion. A large amount of such material has been gathered and a portion of it digested and assimilated, at least a sufficient amount to demonstrate some of the broader lines of evolution and growth of this tongue. It is striking, in some cases, how the common impulse of language, which is but the voicing of a common need felt by humanity, is to be seen in many constructional and other forms. I can yet remember the pleasure of meeting old acquaintances of this kind in Indian guise, for example, our ACT and ACTOR are represented in Indian by SEE-AH-YOOS, work; **DUH**-SEE-AH-YOOS, worker. TLAY-DUP, a trolling hook for fishing; **DUH**-TLAY-DUP, a troller. It will be noted that the prefix DUH has all the force of the English suffix OR. HUH-PY, cedar wood. DUH-PY-YUK, one who builds canoes of cedar wood.

CHARLES M. BUCHANAN.



## EFFORT TO SAVE THE HISTORIC McLOUGHLIN HOUSE.\*

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The idea of restoring to its original condition as near as possible, and preserving the old home, where the founder of our city, Doctor John McLoughlin passed the last years of his life, has often been suggested by many prominent citizens both in the state at large and our own town, as the proper thing to do. When we stop to consider what Doctor McLoughlin's life in the Pacific Northwest and especially in our own town meant for the welfare of the present generation we cannot for an instant question the propriety or advisability of any reasonable action looking towards honoring the name and memory of our founder and benefactor. Recent researches of writers into the early history of Oregon and the Northwest only tend to increase the evidence of the noble and philanthropic character of Dr. John McLoughlin.

The interesting works of our local historical writer, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, have helped in a great measure to make better known the many noble traits in his character.

This is what was said of him by three of our ablest pioneers, all of more than state fame. The Hon. M. P. Deady in an address at the Pioneers' meeting in 1875 said of him:

"Had he but turned his back upon the early missionaries and settlers and left them to shift for themselves the occupation of the country by the Americans would have been seriously retarded and attended with much greater hardships and suffering than it was. He was a great man upon whom God had stamped a grandeur of character which few men possess and a nobility which the patent of no earthly sovereign can confer."

The Hon. P. H. Burnett, the intellectual leader of very many who came to Oregon between 1843-48 says in his book of recollections:

"Dr. John McLoughlin was one of the greatest and most noble philanthropists I ever knew."

Hon. J. W. Nesmith, Senator from Oregon, who came in 1843, said, speaking of his own personal knowledge:

"Dr. John McLoughlin then at the head of the Hudson Bay Company, from his own private resources rendered to the new

\*Message delivered on November 7, 1906, by Mayor E. G. Caufield to the Council of Oregon City, Oregon. Secured for the Quarterly by Thomas W. Prosch.

settlers much valuable aid, by furnishing the destitute with food and clothing and seed, waiting for his pay until they had a surplus to dispose of. Dr. John McLoughlin was a public benefactor and the time will come when the people of Oregon will do themselves credit by erecting a statue to his memory. Of foreign birth and lineage he gave the strongest proof of devotion to Republican institutions by becoming an American citizen, while all his personal interests were identified with the British government."

These are only a few of the many testimonials to the grandeur of his character that could be given by quoting the words of our early pioneers. His name was revered by all whether Red man or white, Catholic or Protestant. It's a matter of history that on account of his broad generous manner towards the American settlers he was treated in such a way by the British that through self-respect he was compelled to resign his position with the Hudson Bay Company, and sacrifice an annual salary of \$12,000.

It is now the opinion of many that Doctor McLoughlin's action in encouraging Americans to settle in the Willamette Valley, together with his kindness and generosity in supplying them when in need with the necessities of life, cattle and seed, was a strong if not the deciding one in saving to this country all of Oregon. It will be remembered that at Champoege, when the provisional government was formed, there was only a majority of two for the Americans. It is not necessary for me at this time to enlarge on the many deeds of kindness and generosity to the pioneers of Oregon, all this is now a matter of well known history.

The many gifts of property in Oregon City for public purposes should be some incentive to do something for his memory. Both public schools are built on blocks donated by Doctor McLoughlin, any of our park blocks are worth more money than it will cost to purchase this property. A block of property dedicated for court house purposes was sold by the county some years ago for more than it will cost to redeem the old home. This city and the state at large can never repay the debt of gratitude due to his memory. To my mind the least we can do is to purchase the property and restore it as near as possible to its original condition making it a repository for the collection of all articles or relics of any description in any way connected with the good doctor's life or history. By doing this we will make a practical, creditable and lasting memorial for him.

Oregon City's place as one of the earliest towns on the Pacific Coast, makes it almost imperative that some action be taken towards the collection and preservation of all articles and relics

of historical interest. The work should have been begun sooner and should not now be neglected until too late. Dr. John McLoughlin's place in the history of this Northwest country is well fixed. The people of Oregon City cannot afford to let any opportunity pass to impress on the world the fact that he was closely connected with the early history of our town. It is not only our duty but we will do ourselves honor and be better and more favorably known by the world for our action.

At this time the building could be placed in its original condition without great trouble or expense, also while there are yet living people who were familiar with the old home and its arrangement, it is possible to do what cannot be done a few years hence.

After showing our good faith by taking the initiative and purchasing the property we could no doubt secure from the legislature a reasonable appropriation towards the completion of the plans for repair of building and beautifying the grounds. Oregon's debt to Dr. McLoughlin is too great to refuse so reasonable a request. The preservation of old historical places is not a new idea as people who have lived in or visited the East can testify. It is especially true of the earliest settled portions of the United States where all towns that have been fortunate enough to have been the scene of some historical event or the birth of some noted character carefully and almost sacredly preserve the building or property connected therewith.

Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church, the Old State House in Boston, all filled with articles and relics that bring to mind our early history, Independence Hall at Philadelphia, Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, St. John's Church at Richmond, where Patrick Henry made his famous speech, Longfellow's home at Cambridge, Gen. Jackson's headquarters at Chalmette, La. The old Church that John Brown attended at Harper's Ferry, the old school house at New London, Conn., where Nathan Hale taught, the building in Philadelphia where Betsy Ross made the first American flag, the homes of the Adams' in Quincy, Mass., the old home of Roger Williams at Providence, R. I., are only a few of the notable instances illustrating the veneration in which such matters are held in other states.

Societies such as the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution have been formed with the sole object in view of caring for and preserving all points of historical interest. In our sister state of California, many of the Mission buildings connected with the early history of the state are carefully cared for, and used as an attraction to lure the tourist. The old McLoughlin home restored to its original condition and filled with relics of bygone days, will become a Mecca for all tourists and visitors

to Oregon. Anyone visiting Oregon would no more think of leaving without seeing the home and burial place of Doctor John McLoughlin, than the visitor to Philadelphia would be satisfied to leave without seeing Independence Hall and the grave of Ben Franklin.

From a practical standpoint, without regard to the sentiment involved, the property is held at a very reasonable figure and as an investment the city could not lose anything. The city has reached the point where additional room is needed for city purposes.

The city recorder should have an office where all the city books and records should be kept in fire-proof vault or safes and where he could hold court. The cases now tried before the recorder are either held in the small corridor or the city jail or in a law office without any conveniences for such purpose. If the city acquired this property one of the large rooms on the lower floor could be fitted up for a council chamber and the present one used for the Recorder's office.

To my mind there could not be a more appropriate place for the city fathers to hold forth than in the old home of the founder of the city. If by any chance the old building should be destroyed by fire, or if perchance the spirit of veneration and respect for the memory of Doctor McLoughlin should grow less, and there should not appear to be any use for the property as a memorial, I must confess, however, that I cannot conceive the latter to be possible, the property will never grow less in value. On the contrary as the city grows it will become more valuable and could be sold or used for other public purposes. I understand that the owners of the property asked \$4,500 for the property, but when told that a movement was on foot to secure the property for a memorial, stated that if it was bought for that purpose would donate \$500 towards the cause. In my opinion this is a reasonable price for the property.

Figuring on the present assessed valuation of property in the city and a reasonable increase in values during the next three years a levy of about 3 mills would raise that amount of money. My recommendation to your honorable body, and I most earnestly pray that you will acquiesce in the same, is that you submit to the voters at the election to be held in December the question as to whether a fund to be known as the "McLoughlin Memorial Fund," be established, and would advise that an annual levy of one mill for three years be made. Looking at the question from a civic pride point of view, I think it would be a good investment. That part of our city, the first seen by passengers on the many trains passing through our town daily, I think all will concede is anything but attractive or creditable to



the city. The improvement that should be made if this property is purchased by the city would certainly give a better impression to strangers than the property does in its present shape.

E. G. CAUFIELD.

In reporting the meeting at which Mayor Caufield's message was delivered, the Oregon City Daily Star of November 8, had the following to say:

"The voters of Oregon City will decide on December 3 whether the old home of Dr. John McLoughlin, opposite the woolen mill, shall be preserved, and our city show its gratitude and respect for the memory of the man who saved the Pacific Northwest to the American Union.

"At a largely attended meeting of the council Wednesday night, Mayor Caufield read a message stating that the old home was being altered and remodeled, and showing the necessity for immediate action if the building and credit of our community are to be saved. A number of representative citizens made remarks in the same tenor and a resolution referring the matter of a tax levy to buy the building and site, was unanimously adopted by the council.

"Immediately following the Mayor, Councilman W. R. Logus made a truly eloquent talk, saying he long had longings that something of the kind would be done and now that the mayor pointed out the way he was pleased and would help all he could.

"Mayor Caufield then called on one who personally knew the great doctor, and E. D. Kelly came forward and made a heart stirring talk to save the home where Oregon's great benefactor passed the last ten years of his life. Mr. Kelly drew a vivid picture of the venerable doctor with his long, silky white hair, sitting at his desk in his office, the room just to the right as you enter the house. A few pigeon-holes contained the papers of the large business conducted by Dr. McLoughlin, the surroundings would today be considered bare, but the man sitting there ennobled everything, for Dr. McLoughlin was a prince among men, who would command the respect of kings and the high and mighty of earth. Mr. Kelly eloquently told of McLoughlin's generosity, and how this move would be welcomed by all the pioneers of the state. Mr. Kelly, who is a native of New York; twice crossed the plains, coming to Oregon City first in 1853. He is an honored citizen, ex-county treasurer, and is the father-in-law of Chief of Police Burns.

"George Harding, who came to Oregon City the year Dr. McLoughlin died, 1857, said this had been let go too long and should now be done at once. Senator J. E. Hedges, born and raised in Oregon City, cited the Dr. Helmcken incident that recently appeared in the Daily Star, as showing how great an interest people everywhere would take in the preservation of Dr.



McLoughlin's relics. C. H. Dye, president of the board of trade, said all were interested who lived in 'Old Oregon'; that sentiment rules the world. He cited another letter recently received by Mrs. Dye from a New York man, relative to her latest book, 'McDonald', showing the keen interest taken by the world at large in the early history of this country. He stated that McLoughlin had given lots for all the churches that were organized here during his lifetime, and that when he settled with the Hudson Bay company he was charged with \$60,000 for supplies advanced to American settlers in this valley, at least \$25,000 of which was never repaid the big-hearted doctor.

"T. F. Ryan endorsed the idea. J. U. Campbell made an earnest plea to honor the memory of his fellow-Scot. He decried even a touch of commercialism and said the greatest thing McLoughlin gave was his example. W. S. U'Ren said a few words along the same line, referring to the inspiration of a great soul, and that we would only be doing our duty to ourselves and our children to do this thing in remembrance of THE MAN who made Oregon a part of the United States. H. C. Stevens said he was in hearty sympathy with the movement.

"E. P. Rands said a stranger asked him last year where to go to get the best view of the falls. Rands told him to go out on the bridge to see where the falls used to be. Mr. Rands said he wanted to be able to answer an inquiry about Dr. McLoughlin's home without that embarrassment, and he therefore presented the following resolution:

"Whereas, Oregon City owes to its founder, Doctor John McLoughlin, a debt of gratitude it can never repay except in part, we believe it to be the duty of Oregon City to purchase his old home, where he spent the last ten years of his life, and restore the same to its original condition as near as possible, preserving it always as a memorial;

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that the following proposition be submitted to the voters at the regular election to be held December 3, 1906, viz:

"Shall Oregon City purchase the old home of its founder, Doctor John McLoughlin, and establish a fund for that purpose by annual levies of one mill until a sum not to exceed \$4,500 be raised.'

"The resolution was adopted unanimously and on motion of Councilman Knapp, the finance committee was directed to see about securing an option on the property until after the election."

The issue of the Portland Oregonian of December 4, the day after the election ordered above, contained a special telegram from Oregon City, giving the following information:

"By a vote of more than 3 to 1, or 100 for to 360 against, the voters of Oregon City today defeated the proposal to levy a

special tax of one mill annually for three successive years to create a fund for the purchase and preservation of the old Dr. John McLoughlin home as a memorial to the founder of this city.

"Defeat of the plan for the city to acquire the McLoughlin property is not to be understood as voicing the feeling of the people toward the founder of the city. Sentiment very generally indorses some movement by which the memory of Dr. McLoughlin can be perpetuated, but the electors seriously questioned the expediency of purchasing this dilapidated property, which has undergone several changes in the way of repairs, besides alterations in the general arrangements of the interior of the structure."

## RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER RAILROAD BUILDER.\*

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The construction of the Spokane International may complete my work in this connection and it may not. I am on the sunset side of life, but still vigorous, and willing to be of use to the community in which I live, and work agrees with me. I have always felt great interest in development of the country and have unlimited faith in it. Washington has great possibilities and will be one of the great, rich states of the Union.

In the spring of 1886, having some leisure time on my hands, I came from New York to the Coeur d'Alenes and the State of Washington, with no other purpose than to see something of the extreme northwest. I was familiar with nearly all the states and territories west of the Missouri river, having come out to the west when a young man and spent most of my life on the frontier, west of the Mississippi river.

I crossed the plains to Denver and Salt Lake on mule back and by overland stage several times before the Union Pacific railroad was built. I had enjoyed the exciting sport of chasing buffalo and being chased by Indians, and had contracted a love for the west which will last as long as I live.

By invitation of Henry Villard and T. F. Oakes, I had been present at the driving of the last spike, near Gold Creek, Mont., that completed the construction of the Northern Pacific railroad, and had not then, nor until my visit in 1886, been further west on the northern route than that point. I knew something of Washington, especially of the Puget Sound country, a little about Spokane and the Inland Empire, and had a desire to see it.

I stopped short of Spokane on my way west, leaving the Northern Pacific railroad at Rathdrum, and, taking the stage from there to Coeur d'Alene City—city by courtesy, for it was then a very small place, its principal feature being the military post.

After spending a day there I took the steamer Coeur d'Alene, owned by James Monaghan, Clem King and Captain Sanburn, for Old Mission, at the head of navigation on the Coeur d'Alene river, and upon arriving at that point changed conveyance to a mud wagon stage that ran between Old Mission and Wardner. It was in April and the roads were at their worst, and that, as

\*Read by J. Edgar Strong for D. C. Corbin at a recent meeting of the Inland Empire Historical Conference in Spokane and supplied for this issue of the Quarterly by W. J. Trimble of the Spokane High School.

anybody will testify who traveled at that time, either on foot, horseback or by stage, meant about the worst that anybody ever saw.

It was not like old time roads on the Illinois prairies, that had no bottom, when stage passengers were required to walk and carry rails on their shoulders to pry the coaches out of the mud; there was bottom to the road between Mission and Wardner, but it was from two to three feet below the surface.

At the town of Wardner, I found James Wardner, Phil O'Rourke, Con Sullivan, Harry Baer and Kellogg, who owned the donkey that discovered the Bunker Hill mine. The men named except "Jim" Wardner, were the owners of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, at that time nothing more than exceedingly good prospects, and they courteously invited me to inspect what little there was to be seen, and afterward have dinner with them at the miners' boarding house, both of which invitations I accepted and enjoyed.

In our examination of the prospects, "Jim" Wardner had secured a gunnysack, in which he deposited various samples of the ore, and upon our return to his cabin dumped them in a pile on the floor.

Among the samples was one that would not have assayed much in silver and lead, but which would have given exceedingly high values in dynamite; in other words, "Jim" had picked up an empty sack—apparently empty—in which to deposit his samples and had been dropping occasional chunks of lead ore on a stick of dynamite during the day. We were both speechless for a moment, and some remarks were made which are not necessary to repeat here.

From Wardner I proceeded to the town of Wallace, which then consisted of three log houses, occupied by Colonel Wallace and his wife, another man and wife and a single man. S. S. Glidden, who then owned the Tiger mine, at what is now the town of Burke, had accompanied me from Wardner for the purpose of showing me the mines, but we were obliged to lay over at Wallace two days while men were clearing fallen trees from the trail—there was no wagon road between Wallace and Burke at that time.

We then proceeded to the Tiger camp. There was not much development on the Tiger and Poorman mines at that time, but what there was looked good, and after a day there I returned to Wardner for a further examination of that camp and to gain what information I could respecting other discoveries.

It all impressed me so forcibly that I concluded that a transportation line connecting the district with the Northern Pacific, the only railroad then in sight, would pay, and within a short

time had arranged to build a branch from that road to Cocur d'Alene City, had purchased the transportation line on the lake and river, and begun the construction of a road from the Old Mission to Wardner, and during the following winter was transporting ore, merchandise and passengers over it.

The business grew rapidly and grew profitable, becoming so attractive that two years later the O. R. & N. Company, then under the management of Elija Smith, began to look that way with longing eyes. This did not suit T. F. Oakes, then president of the Northern Pacific, who claimed that the territory belonged to his company, and he proposed to buy me out. Our negotiations were short, but satisfactory to both parties, and I sold the line to the Northern Pacific Company in the fall of 1888.

The following winter I spent in New York, but early in the spring of 1889, at the invitation of James Monaghan, James Glover, Frank Moore and others who had at some time previously organized the Spokane Falls & Northern Railway Company, I came to Spokane, and after a short time arranged to take the company over, finance it and build the road, and in October of the same season was running trains to Colville, 90 miles north of Spokane.

During the following three years I extended the road to Northport and the international boundary line, and early in the spring of 1893, having obtained a charter from the Canadian government, started the construction of the Nelson & Fort Sheppard Railway, from the international boundary line to Nelson, on Kootenai Lake.

Later during that season, with the road half completed, the great panic of 1893 broke upon the country like a thunderclap out of a clear sky, and within a few months nearly half the railroads in the west, including the Northern Pacific, were in the hands of receivers.

The following year brought the great flood of the Columbia river, which washed out some miles of my road between Marcus and the boundary line, causing very heavy damage; however, it was not a time to give up, and I went on with the determination to see it through.

It was with many misgivings as to what would happen next, and a feeling a little like the old man who fired off a gun containing 13 loads and was knocked over by the concussion, when his hopeful son called out, "Lay still, dad, there are 12 more loads in her."

It was a time when a man had either to brace up and fight for his life or lay down and be wiped out. I was fortunate in having associates in the enterprise who had known me long and who trusted me, and in the loyalty of my employes, who refused, at



the order of the anarchist, Eugene V. Debs, and his Spokane lieutenants to go out on a strike, along with the employes of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads; and so after a long and anxious period I managed to sail my ship into calm waters out of the reach of receivers.

A year or two afterward I had the road on a paying basis, and in June, 1898, through negotiations with C. S. Mellen, then president of the Northern Pacific Company, sold it to that company.

I had no thought at that time of engaging in further railroad construction, but in 1904 I was strongly impressed with the belief that a connection with the Canadian Pacific system would be of great benefit to Spokane and the Inland Empire and proceeded with a few friends to finance the enterprise, having the friendly cooperation through its very able president, Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, of the Canadian Pacific Company. The construction of the road is now much more than half completed, and I fully expect to have it in operation during the next six months.

D. C. CORBIN.

## THE PATHFINDERS.\*

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The custom of assembling once each year to commemorate the founding of our city is to be commended for at least one reason. The natural tendency of the practice is to direct our minds from our own personal and purely selfish affairs, and to induce us to contemplate our city from another view than merely the place where we live and have our being and hope to make our fortunes out of real estate.

From year to year as we gather upon this occasion it will be a favorite theme to dilate upon the wondrous growth and manifold changes that have been wrought in the half century since the founders first stepped upon the inhospitable shore at Alki Point. It will always be full of interest to contemplate how the passing years have put their mark upon the face of things; for surely nowhere has the hand of man wrought with such energy and effectiveness, and well may those whose enterprise and devotion has builded all this look with pride upon their work and lay the unction to their souls that never in all the history of the world's development has a congregation of men done more.

Where a half century ago those intrepid founders, gazing across the waters of Elliott Bay, saw naught but the tangled forest frowning down into the tide, their children view to-day structures builded after classic form, with fronts reared high into the sky as if in valorous endeavor to learn if there be a sun which shines above the mists of Puget Sound.

Where in those days the stranger, who struggled to these shores, found no warmer welcome than that accorded by the lurking savage who coveted his scalp, he is now received into the abiding place of luxury and wealth, and the gentle trafficker in real estate has fallen on his neck ere the city's gates have closed upon him.

And how all things have changed! About this time a half century ago (and that is but a brief time in the history of a commonwealth) the inhabitants upon Puget Sound were all absorbed in the project of securing funds for the building of a possible wagon road across the Cascades and thence to where it would intersect the emigrant road across the Rocky Mountains, it being hoped thus to divert the tide of immigration which had been up to that time tending down to the Willamette Valley. Now

\*Address at the second annual Founders' Day Banquet, Seattle, Nov. 13, 1906.

we can view almost without enthusiasm the spectacle of great transcontinental railroads making their way across the continent, and, indeed, we even find the leisure to invent obstacles against their entry into our city. It would be also fair to remark that as for the wagon roads, we have been content to let them remain in much the same condition they were fifty years ago.

In such a speedy and overwhelming way has this marvelous transformation been brought about that it is as difficult for us of the present day to imagine conditions then as it would have been for them to picture how these few years would transform the face of things.

But did I say that all was changed? We well remember how it is recorded that when the founders dragged themselves ashore on Alki Point, and looking across the bay beheld for the first time the site of the future city, the land and water were covered with a murky mist and steadily it rained. Thus they knew they had discovered Seattle.

But we shall have spent our time idly upon such an occasion as this if we do not find that lesson which it is meant the thoughtful one should learn from a view of our early history and the lives of those men who, leaving civilization and comfort behind, went out to seek a habitation within the trackless limits of an unknown land.

This city and state of ours are but in the building now, and that we may finally come into our own, men of strength, men of fortune, and above all men of faith, are just as necessary as they were upon the day the founders first undertook to penetrate the frowning wilderness that fringed the shores of Puget Sound.

If this city is to be builded to that point where it shall correspond to what we now hope, there must remain with us the builders, something of that spirit which mastered those who began the task and by their initiation made possible the work we now perform.

Call it what you will, call it the instinctive desire of man for exploration, call it the "wanderlust", if you will, that moved them, these men would never have sought these inhospitable shores and here remained to found a city and a state, if a sordid thought for their own welfare had been their only impulse. I am not idealist enough to believe that these men were actuated only by the grand idea of erecting an empire for those who came after to enjoy. Perhaps they were not even consciously moved by this idea, but that spirit nevertheless they had and it sufficed to make them heroes.

It was that spirit which armed a Stevens to go unattended through the wilderness that stretched from the Rocky Mountains to Puget Sound and by the force of will alone subdue a

devastating savagery that this fair land might be prepared for the abode of civilization and peace.

It was this heroic impulse that inspired a Bonneville to turn his back upon civilized man and setting his face toward a land as mysterious and unknown as the face of another sphere ride out to disclose a path where the myriad makers of an empire might later follow him.

It was this spirit which aroused a Marcus Whitman to set forth on horseback in the depth of a stinging winter to make the awful journey from Walla Walla to the Atlantic Coast. Riding eastward to where the Rocky Mountains cast up their icy wall to bar his path he turns along their front and rides and rides until he finds a pass he penetrates, for even mountains must fall down before the will of such a man; then onward undaunted and not faltering, for it is his task to warn the national authorities of the value of the empire report has told him they are minded to surrender to another flag. He stands before them at his journey's end, and with the fervor of a devoted soul crying not for himself, but for posterity, he pleads:

"Oh, sirs, out beyond and still beyond there is a land most fair and bounteous; there are verdure-covered hills that bloom in beauty everlasting and sleeping valleys which but wait the touch of man to yield God's choicest fruits; there are never ending plains that wave their golden grasses to a summer sky, and from out the swelling bosom of those plains majestic mountain peaks reach up their snow cheeks to meet the sun's caress, while from their sides, like Titanic tear drops, roll down gigantic rivers to the sea."

We may not emulate the deeds of these men, for the day of such deeds is past, but we may achieve in some degree their spirit.

If in a city like this where material prosperity has reached such bounds, where industry is awakening with such amazing strength, and speculation assures such wondrous rewards, men should forget all else but individual profit and think only of their city and what it comprises as the theatre and opportunity for their own financial advancement, it would not be surprising; but a generation of men whose only thought is this have added little to the true advantage of a city.

Wealth may accumulate, men may rear monuments of stone and marble, luxury may come with its enervating train, yet that be wanting to make our city truly great.

It would be an error to discourage commercialism, for thus are laid the foundations of economic strength; it would be wrong to forbid that man should hearken to the proper dictates of self interest, for it is only thus that he protects himself and family,

but let us not forget if we would have a city which deserves the pride and devotion we desire to yield it, that by increasing values, by amassing wealth, or even reaching luxury, we have not yet attained true civil greatness.

Amongst us there must arise men—high-minded men—who alone can “constitute a state”, who with something of the zeal of the founders will lay out the path to civil virtue and advancement.

Spite the fact that there never was an age, and perhaps there never was a place, where there is more temptation to desert some of the higher ideals, nevertheless, I say only what I feel it is my right to say when I declare that in no community may we easier find the elements of a wholesome and magnificent citizenship.

As we learn to live “in scorn of miserable aims that end with self”, as we approach the spirit of those intrepid fathers who counted naught a sacrifice so that it made for human betterment, so shall we build a city which shall merit and be accorded of all men the title great.

W. T. DOVELL.



## DOCUMENTS.

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It is of prime importance, in the reproduction of documents that great care should be exercised in reproducing them faithfully, errors and all; and that information be given as to the location of the document. In the last issue of the Quarterly the document about the first attempted ascent of Mount Rainier was explained as being in the possession of the Tolmie family at Victoria, British Columbia. All the other documents are in the collections of the University of Washington at Seattle, as are all the documents in this issue unless otherwise specified, as in the case of extracts from the old issues of the National Intelligencer of Washington, D. C.

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### Causes of Indian Troubles.

Governor McMullin wrote this interesting letter to President Buchanan and kept in his office at Olympia a signed copy, which is here reproduced:

#### EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Olympia, Washington Territory, Oct. 20th, 1857.

To His Excellency, James Buchanan, President of the United States: Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 9th, and of my entering upon the duties of Executive of this Territory, on the 10th ultimo.

Immediately after my arrival, I availed myself of an opportunity to visit those portions of our territory bordering upon Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet, as far north as the 49th parallel of north latitude, more particularly to acquaint myself with the relations existing between our people and the Indians, both native and foreign, and to inform myself with regard to the character of defense necessary to protect the settlers from the depredations of these children of the forest.

I visited all the important points within our territory bordering upon Puget Sound and the Straits de Fuca; and also Victoria on Vancouver's Island, for the purpose of conferring with his Excellency, Governor Douglas, to the end that some mutual action might be taken, and some system of policy adopted to

prevent any further incursions of the northern hordes of savages, inhabiting the Russian Possessions and British America. He informed me that he had neither the power nor means to punish those Indians for past offenses committed within the territory of the United States, nor to prevent similar incursions in the future; but that he would communicate the facts to the "Home Government", and had no doubt that such representation, sustained by a request on the part of the Government of the United States, would meet with early attention, and that one war steamer would be dispatched to co-operate with a similar force on the part of the United States, in keeping those Indians within the limits of their own territory, and preserving peace among the tribes located upon the navigable waters of the two countries on this Coast.

It is a source of sincere regret that I am compelled to inform your Excellency, that this territory of Washington, containing a small and widely scattered population of about six or seven thousand souls, and lying upon our northern frontier exposed to the incursions of the numerous and warlike tribes of the north, is in an almost wholly defenseless condition. It is true that a few regular troops are stationed at isolated localities, remote from each other, and generally in numbers not much more than sufficient for their own protection. Aside from the smallness of the force, these troops can render but little service in the protection of the people here, or in repelling invasion from without, owing to the character of the Indians to be dealt with and the peculiar characteristics of the country.

The Northern Indians—a term which here includes all the aborigines residing north of the 49th parallel of latitude, on this Coast, and who are in the habit of visiting the interior waters of this territory—are an intelligent, bold and athletic race, perhaps more so than any other tribes upon the North American Continent, and delight in war, rapine and murder.

Residing upon the various arms of the sea which project into the land, and upon those extensive channels which separate Vancouver and other islands from the main land, they are bred to the sea and are all very skillful navigators. They display much skill in naval architecture, and their war canoes, carrying from thirty to one hundred men each, and propelled through the water, against wind and tide, at from five to eight knots an hour, present an imposing appearance, and are really very formidable to the present widely scattered population of the territory.

These Indians are found almost constantly prowling around the Sound—moving from point to point in their canoes, with great secrecy and celerity—killing the settlers here and there, as they find opportunity, and plundering houses, killing and carry-

ing off stock and keeping the country in a state of continual alarm. The sense of insecurity felt to our citizens, particularly in the northern portions of the territory, has been greatly increased by the recent murder of Col. Isaac N. Ebey, late Collector of Customs for the Puget Sound District. A party of these northern savages attacked the Col.'s house, on Whidby's Island, about midnight—killed him, cut off his head and bore it off in triumph. While they were engaged in plundering the house, the Col's family, together with G. W. Corliss, Esq., U. S. Marshal for the territory, and lady, who were guests of the family during the session of the U. S. District Court, barely escaped through a back window, and passed the remainder of the night in the woods.

Much alarm exists on the Island and through the surrounding country. Many of the people are collected in block houses for safety, while others have left, or are preparing to leave the territory altogether; and I fear that, unless energetic measures are speedily adopted to keep these murderers and marauders beyond the limits of our territory, the northern portion of it, so rich in its arable lands, its timber, its coal fields and fisheries, will be abandoned altogether by our citizens.

The Indian tribes within our own territory, living west of the Cascade mountains, numbering about twelve thousand, are showing many signs of discontent, being unquestionably stimulated and encouraged to acts of outrage and violence by the tribes east of the mountains. They are located chiefly along the shores of the Sound and the Straits de Fuca, from which they obtain immense quantities of shell-fish and other marine articles of food, and by a general and simultaneous rising, could annihilate our settlements, with perhaps the exception of the more considerable villages, in a single night.

They complain that the government of the United States has been giving away, and is still selling their lands to settlers, without making them any sort of compensation—that they have, in good faith, made treaties with the Agent of the United States, whereby they were to receive a compensation for their lands, and that these treaties have not been carried out in good faith by our government. They also say that the "Nesquallies", at the head of the Sound, are being paid for their lands, and the treaty stipulations being carried out in that particular case, while they are put off with promises by the Indian Agents, with the sole purpose of keeping them quiet until the white population becomes strong enough to drive them off entirely. They further say that their lands are being gradually taken up by the settlers—military and other roads cut through their country without their consent—their hunting grounds destroyed and their ancient

burial places desecrated. They do not understand by what right these things are done, nor upon what principles of justice, the government refuses to ratify the treaties and pay them for the land while it yet passes laws giving away and selling their homes, their hunting grounds and their graves. Reasoning thus, they regard the settlers as trespassers upon their domain, and consequently view them with extreme jealousy. This condition of things is daily growing worse, and the time may not be far distant when we may have a general Indian war, involving the tribes both east and west of the Cascades, with many of the powerful northern tribes as their allies.

I have before stated that the northern Indians are very skillful in nautical affairs. This is true, to a somewhat less extent, in relation to our own Indians who reside west of the Cascades, and on the borders of tide-water. Among these the whites have formed their principal settlements, and the waters of the Sound form the chief thoroughfares for both races. It will be readily perceived how formidable these Indians may become, who triple or quadruple the white population, should they unite with the more powerful northern tribes. Nearly all their journeys and expeditions are made in canoes; and the channels, straits and inlets which surround the numerous Islands and ramify the whole country, afford them fine opportunities for their nautical operations, as well as excellent places of concealment.

The character of the country here is unique and peculiar. The prairies are generally small and the country mostly covered with a dense growth of gigantic trees. Another forest, the growth of a former age, equally dense and much more troublesome to the traveler, is found in most places lying upon the ground. These gigantic and partially decayed, prostrate trees are covered with brush, vines and undergrowth of all kinds, which render it exceedingly difficult to traverse the country while, at the same time, they form admirable lairs for wild beasts and lurking places for the wily savages. It will be seen from this, that regular troops can rarely operate to advantage, except as they are transported from place to place by water, there being but few roads passable for footmen, and a still less number for wagons and horses.

On the other hand, Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet are the great thoroughfares of the central and northern portions of the territory, so regarded and used by both whites and Indians. This great body of inland tide-water is perhaps the most remarkable of any in the world. It does not lie in a compact form, but is distributed into channels, inlets, bays and harbors, and interspersed with islands, so much so, that although only about one hundred and fifty miles in length, it has some sixteen hundred



miles of shore line, and is directly accessible to a country, on its borders, of not less than ten thousand square miles in extent. These waters are all deep enough for the largest ships, and generally so to within a few yards of the shore, thus rendering navigation both safe and easy.

The northern Indian never comes to our borders except in his canoe. He travels in it through the Sound, and returns the same way. Our own Indians reside chiefly upon the shores of the Sound, make nearly all their journeys by water and subsist chiefly upon the various kinds of fish, with which these waters abound, and the fruits of the chase in the neighboring forests. A war steamer, of moderate size and considerable speed; cruising in the vicinity of the 49th parallel, would be able to keep the northern marauders entirely beyond the limits of our territory; while a second vessel, of the same kind, cruising between that station and the head of the Sound, would keep our own Indians quiet, and render material aid to the Indian department here.

After a careful investigation of the subject by personal observation and otherwise, I am thoroughly convinced that the only practicable and efficacious method of protecting our citizens from the inroads of the northern Indians, and preventing a general war on the part of our own tribes, is, to station vessels of war upon our waters, as above indicated. And I do most urgently request your Excellency, in the name of the citizens of this territory, who have been encouraged to come here by the government, and who have risked their lives and property in this remote and isolated region of the confederacy, to consider these necessities of our people, and afford them such protection as is possible consistently with the welfare of the nation at large.

Without a naval force, propelled by steam, upon the waters of Puget Sound, there is, in my judgment, no safety to the inhabitants. It is impossible for land forces to operate to any advantage, for the reason before indicated, and it would require a force sufficient to garrison every settler's house on the lower part of the Sound in order to render any efficient protection. So well satisfied am I of the truthfulness of these statements, and the correctness of the positions here taken, that I would rather have one small but active war steamer manned by a hundred men, upon these waters, than a thousand regular troops garrisoned along the shores.

It is also a matter of urgent necessity that treaties should be ratified with those Indian tribes where the settlements of the whites have been made within the limits of their territory. This course of policy, judiciously carried out, would remove the chief cause of complaint amongst our resident Indians, while, at the



same time, it would be no more than an act of strict justice to them. This subject rises in importance just in proportion to the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, and the consequent danger of a general Indian war.

I would also respectfully suggest as an additional means of bringing the Indians upon the Pacific Coast into social relations with our government and people that the plans as intimated to me by my friend, the Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, be carried out to wit. That one or more of the Chiefs and Headmen of each of the tribes in this territory be invited by the President to visit the National Capitol, for the purpose of seeing and having a talk with the authorities and that they be returned to their respective homes by the overland route thereby exhibiting to them their utter inability to make war upon our government and thus more effectually to awe them into peace and quietness.

In conclusion I beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to the report of the citizens' meeting at Port Townsend, presided over by the Hon. F. A. Chenoweth, U. S. District Judge and attended by the U. S. District Attorney and numerous other citizens, also to the petition of the citizens of Whidby's Island herewith enclosed.

I would also call your attention to the communication of Governor James Douglas of Vancouver's Island, a copy of which is transmitted herewith. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Obt. Servt.

(Signed) FAYETTE McMULLIN,  
Governor of Washington Territory.

### INDIAN DANGERS AT WHATCOM.

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Bell. Bay, W. T., Apl. 5th, '57.

Gov. I. I. Stevens, Olympia.

Sir: I am requested by the citizens of Whatcom, to write you in regard to their unprotected state and beg that you will send them powder, lead and caps, to defend themselves against the incursions of the northern Indians.

Some time last week a band of these savages landed on my place and proceeded on foot to the town of Whatcom and broke into a house of one of the citizens and stole blankets, etc., and made good their retreat without waking a single man in the town—save the one whose house they plundered. It seems that this man imagined that he was surrounded and was afraid to

give the alarm, and they made him accompany them to their canoe, and he did not give the information until the following morning. I never heard of such a case of cowardice in my life. The Indians informed him that they came to survey the premises, in order to be able to take everything here and kill everybody, as soon as they were reinforced by their people. They had been up and inspected the Mill Post, etc., and have promised to kill Capt. Pickett, Capt. Peabody and myself certainly, and many others, who resisted them, when they came for plunder. It is most unpleasant, as well as most dangerous, to remain here. The citizens are all wrangling among themselves, and there is so much ill feeling existing that many intend leaving—if the Hancock does not make her appearance very shortly—as they have no confidence in one another. The “Massachusetts” to my surprise has left us, at the very time of all others that they should have remained with us, after having contributed no little towards making the savages more hostile. She makes an inglorious retreat when the winter has broken up, and we expect them in large numbers. But I am so disgusted with her actions that I shall say no more on this subject at present.

There should be some means taken to get a steamer to cruise at the lower end of the Sound and that speedily too, or we will all be obliged to leave here.

A Victoria Indian, who has a Lumma wife, has just arrived, with Capt. Wm. Webster, and informs us that they met about six miles this side of Victoria, the canoes of Stickenes, Hyders and Bella Bellas, numbering in all some 400 or 450 men—only two women amongst them—all painted and armed. They had just come down from the North. This goes to show that they will arrive in force, much earlier than we expected them, and we may any night expect an attack. If such a thing should happen, we will all be killed, as we can expect no assistance from the Mill Post, they having as much as they can do to protect their premises, their pickets not being finished and many of the soldiers being in irons in the guard house. We have formed into a volunteer company here, for general protection and safety; but it seems to have done little or no good, on account of a spirit of unity.

I am building a block house at my place for safety and protection of my property, as the block house at the Mill is too far off for us to retreat to in case of an attack. When that is finished, I shall feel easier, as I hope to be able to hold it with my ten men. If the savages come before that time, we will be badly off to take to the brush. If I had one big gun, I should feel no uneasiness about the matter as it would give confidence to my men, and they would not desert me, as they talk of doing.

I cannot tell you how unpleasant my situation is—the citizens have taken a stampede and it is almost impossible to give them any confidence. Besides, they have good grounds for their belief. I think it is very dangerous myself, to remain and I shall not stay unless the Hancock or some other steamer comes and cruises at the lower end of the Sound. If they should go to Seattle, as the Massachusetts did and stay there all the time, there would not be a man left in the county. They only remain now waiting for the arrival of a steamer, and trusting to Providence not to be murdered in the meantime.

The information in regard to the canoes can be relied on, not as coming from Webster (for he never was known to tell the truth) but from the Indian Frazer, whom I know well and would believe, in a matter of this kind, as soon as a white man. He has also told all of his tillicums here and put them on their guard. My Indians are terribly alarmed.

By the way, Webster laid down in the canoe and Frazer covered him with mats so that they could not see him—he did not move his head until he had passed them some distance.

I hope to have a little better organization amongst the citizens before long. If we had some powder, lead and caps and one big gun in my block house (there being one already in the station), it would tend very much to restore confidence. Very resp.

Your Obt. servant,

(Sgd.)

E. C. FITZHUGH.

Fourteen canoes were seen going into the cove 6 miles from Victoria, about 450 Stickenes and Hyders painted and equipped for war. Four large canoes yesterday on Lopez Island. One canoe, supposed to contain 80 men were in to look after us last night (7th) retired after being fired into. They are all around us and gathering nearer every day. FITZHUGH.

### Two Documents About Chief Leschi.

Governor McMullin was evidently desirous that justice should not miscarry if he could prevent it so he wrote this letter early in the morning.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, W. T.,

Olympia, January 22nd, 1858. ½ past 2 A. M.

Lieut. Col. Silas Casey, Comm'd'g, Fort Steilacoom.

Sir: I am just in receipt of a communication by express from the Sheriff of Pierce County informing me that he called upon you last evening, and requested you to furnish him today with suffi-

cient guard to protect him, in the discharge of his duty in executing the Indian Leschi who is now a prisoner confined at Fort Steilacoom and condemned to death.

He further informs me that your answer to him was that if you were formally requested by some person having authority, that you might or you might not furnish such guard.

I have therefore respectfully to request that you furnish such guard to George Williams, the Sheriff of Pierce County, as shall be necessary to protect him in the execution of his duty in the hanging of Leschi. I am, Sir, Very respectfully,

Your Most Obt. Servant,  
(Sgd) FAYETTE McMULLIN,  
Governor of Washington Territory.

The following letter shows no sign as to whom it was written, but it was found among other papers bearing the names of Governors Stevens and McMullin and was no doubt written for one of them.

Olympia, Washington Territory, May 4th, 1858.

Dr Sir:

Complying with the request made in your note of the 30th April, I have carefully examined the communication addressed by you to Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, in which a statement of the facts connected with the trial and execution of the Indian Chief "Leschi" is made, and will freely give you my opinion in regard to their correctness. Without entering into the minute details of the case, you have given its true general history from the time it came before the Courts, in a very concise manner. You might have added with perfect propriety that no criminal of any age, sex, or color, ever had a fairer trial than "Leschi". The investigation was deliberate, impartial and complete, his Senior Counsel is the oldest Attorney in our Territory, and ranks as one of the ablest criminal pleaders on the Pacific Coast, his Junior was as active and energetic as the sequel proved him to be unscrupulous and dishonest. The former permitted no — in the investigation and did all for his client that a correct, upright attorney could have done; the latter took all advantages offered by loopholes in the Law, or that could have been practiced by the most artful Pettifogger. But this is the inference naturally drawn from your statement of the case as it stands upon the record. It is unnecessary for me to add anything further than my full endorsement of that statement. Yours truly,

(Sgd) BUTLER P. ANDERSON,  
Pros. Atty. Washington Territory.

**Unpleasant Information About Chief Kitsap.**

Steilacoom, June 16th, 1858.

Gov. Fayette McMullin,

Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you information received from Mr. Geo. Parkinson, who left here for the mines via Nachez pass a few days ago:

"We expected to find everything quiet as reported by some of the tribe which lately arrived from there (Clicatat nation) but judge of our surprise on being met on the other side of Green River by Kitsap and "Joe" a chief who informed Nelson that if he took the Bostons over the mountains that they would be scalped and Nelson share the same if caught" — "I thought the most proper course to pursue was to return to the Muckle-shoot and inform the Sergeant in command of it in order that he may inform the officers of the garrison of the result. Owhi, the head chief of the Clicatats has been already among the Naches Indians inciting them to war. He says that Kitsap is camped at Green River with a small body guard tolerably well armed, and that "Joe" is to go among the Nisqually Indians, but for what purpose he does not know. He further says, "If the Steilacoom people or officers of the garrison want to take Kitsap let them send me word and I will fetch him dead or alive in one week from now as I know where to find him".

Some other valuable information is contained in the Parkinson letter which I cannot communicate for want of time as the steamer leaves immediately. I thought at least this much you ought to know. Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) O. P. MEEKER.

HON. FAYETTE McMULLIN.

**Father Chirouse Was Prudent.**

The memory of the writer of this letter is still loved by all the Indian tribes among whom he worked as a missionary.

Dear Sir: I take the opportunity of Mr. Simmons' express to send some lines to your excellency to let you know that we have some troubles in the present time. One of our Indians (named Pams) and one of his sons named Alic, had murdered one of our citizens on the Snohomish River about fifteen miles from our place. We heard that a great many other Indians, dissatisfied with their treaty, had intention to break out, but I am very glad to see that now more than a hundred Indian soldiers are going to hunt for the murderers. All our Christian boys are determined



to get the murderers, live or dead. Mr. Simmons is doing all he can for the best and I think that he will succeed to restore the good order amongst the Indians. I would like to go to Olympia now, but knowing that the murderers want to kill me, I think it more prudent for me not to go anywhere until the murderers have been taken. I would be very thankful to you Dear Sir if you would be good enough to put my letters in the postoffice.

My best respects to Mistress McGill and to all your family.

I am in great haste, excuse me Governor, and please think that I remain your Very thankfull and very respectfull servant,

(Sgd) E. C. CHIROUSE,  
O.M.Y.

### EARLY EMIGRATION TO OREGON.

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The following paragraphs published at the time of the Nathaniel J. Wyeth expedition to Oregon in 1832 have been gleaned for the Quarterly by Edward McMahon, from the newspaper files in the great library of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

From an editorial in the National Intelligencer of Wednesday, February 8, 1832:

We have been presented by the Agent, with a copy of a pamphlet entitled "A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character, who wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory—embracing some account of the character and advantages of the country; the right and the means and the operations by which it is to be settled; and all necessary directions for becoming an emigrant." Published by order of "The American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory." Such persons as feel an interest in the subject may procure the pamphlet at Mr. Riordan's Book Store, Pennsylvania Avenue.

From the National Intelligencer for March 19, 1832:

Those persons desirous of emigrating to Oregon, in the first expedition, are notified that the Committee appointed for the purpose of making arrangements, have determined upon leaving the city on Monday, 2nd of April, for St. Louis.

The expedition will leave St. Louis on the 10th of May. Those who have not made their arrangements will please apply to the committee as soon as practicable,

BENJ. HODGES  
WM. WERTZ  
J. COLLINS  
R. MOORE  
GEO. TOPHAM

From the National Intelligencer for March 30, 1832:

Baltimore, Mar. 27. A few days since a party of 26 young men from the East, arrived in this City on their way to the Columbia River, (The Oregon) in the extreme west of our country. Their travelling wagons, 3 in number, were peculiarly constructed, to be useful in their contemplated journey. The body of the wagon was calculated to be used as a boat, in crossing or passing rivers. The wheels being detached and put under it. During their stay here they encamped every night in a field near the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road depot.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

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**The Life of Stephen A. Douglas.** By Wm. Gardner. (The Roxburgh Press, Boston).

Douglas had the misfortune to be on the wrong and losing side of the great slavery struggle that culminated in our civil war. Of the great hero and great antagonist of Douglas—Abraham Lincoln—we have several accounts. It is a regrettable fact that we have been unable, except in very few cases, to tell the story of our greatest American without at the same time attempting to belittle his greatest antagonist.

This is altogether unnecessary in the case of Lincoln, for Lincoln towers above all the men of his time. It is well to remember, however, that Douglas never met his equal or superior in the political struggle of his time till he encountered Lincoln. If then it took the greatest American of the century to master the "Little Giant", it would seem that Douglas' life deserves more than a condemning notice.

Mr. Gardner has added little to our knowledge of Douglas, perhaps there is little more to know, but he is deserving of some credit for collecting this and presenting it in readable form. The book is for popular use as is shown by the total absence of citations and bibliography. The author takes especial pains to picture the times in which Douglas lived and acted. "Only sixty years have passed, but with them has passed away a civilization, with its modes of thought and sentiment, its ethics and its politics. The country had but one-fifth of its present population. A third of our area was still held by Mexico. Wealth was as yet the poet's dream or the philosopher's night-mare. Commerce was a subordinate factor in our civilization. Agriculture was the occupation of the people and the source of wealth. Cotton was king not only in the field of business, but in that of politics. The world still maintained its attitude of patronizing condescension or haughty contempt towards the dubious experiments of "broad and rampant democracy." Dickens had just written his shallow twaddle about Yankee crudeness and folly. Macaulay was soon to tell us that our constitution was "all sail and no anchor." De Tocqueville had but recently published his appreciative estimate of the New World Civilization. . . . "It was a time of egotism, bluster and brag in our relation to the foreign world, and of truckling submission in our home politics to a dominant power, long since so completely whirled away by the

storm of revolution, that it is hard to realize that half a century ago the strongest bowed to its will." (p. 21).

The fever for new territory, for expansion, and for proclaiming our manifest destiny, took hold of every section except New England. "It was not a question of ethics or of sober statesmanship, but one of practical politics that divided the North and the South at this period. Each hoped to secure for itself the alliance and sympathy of the new states thereafter admitted. Each applied itself to the task of shaping the territories and moulding the future states to serve its ulterior views." (p. 31).

But it soon came to be a question of ethics. The moral awakening which was begun and kept going by Garrison and the abolitionists was beginning to bear fruit. The old school of compromisers, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, and their followers, did not realize it in their time, nor did Douglas who survived them, realize it in his. All this is clearly shown by Mr. Gardner. Each new acquisition of territory was viewed as so many possible slavery or anti-slavery states. To keep the balance in the Senate between the two sections was the all important thing long after the numerical majority as represented in the House had decided against further extension of slavery. It is one of the curious features of the times that a scheme of government which prevented the numerical majority from controlling the governmental policy should have met with so few attacks. Few saw so clearly as Garrison that it was the system of government that saved slavery so long, and still fewer had the courage to attack it.

One naturally looks in a biography of Douglas for some clear insight into his motives for repealing the Missouri Compromise as applied to Nebraska, but Mr. Gardner throws no new light on this problem. He seems here to follow Rhodes (Vol. I, Chap.V), almost literally. What value he places upon Douglas' reasons for the repeal as recorded in Cutts, pp. 87-91, (a brief treatise upon Constitutional and Party questions, and the history of Political parties, as received orally from the late Stephen A. Douglas), we cannot know. The time is gone, it seems to us, when we can simply charge it up to an ambition for the presidency and a desire to please the South. Douglas brought in his first bill for the organization of Nebraska in 1844 and renewed it every session till the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. All during the Oregon agitation he told how Oregon up to 54° 40' might be held for the United States by opening this territory to settlers and allowing others to pass through it and settle Oregon. As early as 1844 he protested to the Secretary of War against settling the Indians in that territory. In 1852-3 a body of emigrants of some 15,000 to 20,000 gathered on the border

of Missouri and threatened to invade Nebraska in spite of the law. Their attitude became so threatening that the president dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the frontier to head off the invasion, and ordered the commanding officer at Leavenworth to use the army, if necessary, in resisting them. If Douglas has stated the facts, and we do not know that they have been questioned, may he not have been perfectly honest in trying to have the territory opened by leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the people of the territory? Is it not possible in view of the fact that the people of California settled it similarly, and so easily?

The author thinks the administration Democrats "proved a quite unimportant factor" in the campaign against Lincoln in 1858. Certainly, Douglas did not so regard them, and, if the National party machine exercised but a fraction of the power that it wields today, no candidate would consider it unimportant in a close contest. Mr. Gardner does an excellent piece of work in the chapter where he traces the deadly effect of Douglas' answers to Lincoln's questions in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Especially the answers in the Freeport debate. This is an excellent study in cause and effect. Douglas' attitude toward Lincoln at the inauguration, and immediately after the fall of Sumter, might have been mentioned with good grace. Mr. Gardner's estimate of Douglas is worth quoting at some length.

"He was a practical man of action, whose course was generally guided by the accidental circumstances of the hour, rather than by fixed principles. His education was defective. He entered the great arena with little of either mental or moral culture. Yet, severely as we now judge him, he did not fall below the prevailing standard of political morals. His real sin was that he did not rise above the ethics of the times; that he remained deaf as an adder to the voices of the great reformers who sought to regenerate the age, and who were compelled to grapple with him in deadly struggle before they could gain footing on the stage.

"The time was out of joint and he felt no vocation to set it right. While his ethics has fared hard, his mental gifts have been over-estimated. The availability of all his resources, his overwhelming energy and marvelous efficiency among men of intellect, gave rise to the impression which still survives that he was a man of original genius (p. 236). \* \* \* It is not to be set down in his list of sins that he failed to bridge over the widening chasm between the North and South, but it must be charged to him as a mental defect that he hopelessly failed to comprehend the significance of the great movements which he seemed to lead. That in the keenness of his interests in the evolutions of political strategy he failed to discern the symptoms of coming revolution. When the storm that had been brewing before his



eyes for ten years broke upon the country it took him by surprise. The ardor of his temperament, the eagerness of his ambition, makes his conduct at times painfully resemble that of a selfish demagogue. But the range of his vision was small. He erred less from the corruption of the heart than from deficiency of the mind. But what statesman of note during those strange and portentous years preceding the war could safely expose his speech and conduct to the searchlight of criticism? The wisest walked in darkness and stumbled often. It was not the fate of Douglas to see the mists amid which he groped, swept away by the hurricane of war," (p. 238).

With the author's final conclusion "young as he was, he had outlived his historic era, and there is a dramatic fitness in the ending of his career at this time," we cannot agree.

Perhaps Alexander H. Stephens overstates the matter when he regards the death of Douglas "as one of the greatest calamities, under the dispensation of Providence, which befell the country in the beginning of these troubles." (Vol. II, p. 421), but we are inclined to believe that had Douglas survived the war and wielded any large share of his old influence during the trying days of Reconstruction, many of the blunders of that period would have been avoided and the solid South of today would be less of a dreadful reality.

A somewhat careless use of pronouns and a number of obvious typographical errors mar the book, but taking it all in all it deserves a wide and careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

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**McDonald of Oregon.** By Eva Emery Dye. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1906. Pp. 395.)

This is the latest story of Oregon's famed author. It is one of the best. To the people of the State of Washington and of the present generation it will unquestionably be the most entertaining. It concerns their locality, their home, their country—the Washington of which we are justly so proud. It is about their fathers, their mothers, their friends of the past, and, in the cases of the older surviving pioneers, themselves. It is history, romance, poetry.

Ranald McDonald, the hero, was one of the old Hudson Bay men, his father coming before that company, and the son being born at Fort George, the first settlement on the Pacific slope north of California. A very attractive story is weaved about him, the events being located in "Old Oregon," on the ocean and in Japan. These events concern, among others, the Indians of the first half of the Nineteenth Century—Cumcumly, Seattle,

Kamiakin, the Chinooks, the Cayuses, the Clallams and the rest. One chapter is devoted to the first war expedition on Puget Sound, when the Clallams were attacked by the Hudson Bay men, in 1828, in retaliation for a previous attack by them on a party of fur traders bound from Fort Langley to Fort Vancouver. The boy McDonald, on board the historic schooner, *Cadboro*, was with the attacking white men, who then taught the savage and warlike Clallams a lesson they never forgot. Mrs. Dye's narrative of this expedition is based upon the journal of Frank Ermatinger, one of the participants in the expedition, copy of which has been furnished by her to the *Quarterly*, and appears elsewhere in this issue. McDonald bore a charmed life, passing unscathed through adventures and vicissitudes of startling and wonderful character. Thrillingly interesting is the account of his going to Japan, his doings there, and the results. While much is made of McDonald in the book, McLoughlin, Douglas, Tolmie, Work, Stevens, Yesler, Denny, Maynard, Shaw, and hundreds of others of the first men and women of the country are entrancingly written of. Mrs. Dye always sees to it that the women in her books are fairly treated, and so in this, Mrs. Huggins, Mrs. Blaine, Angeline and the others—both Indian and white—figure prominently, creditably and readably.

It would be pleasant, indeed, to give this book further review and commendation, but, instead, it will, perhaps, be just as well, if not better, to give an idea of the manner of work of the talented author in securing the materials upon which this publication was based.

Mrs. Dye says the story of McDonald came to her accidentally while hunting out the facts for her "*McLoughlin and Old Oregon*." All the old Hudson Bay men said, "You ought to see Ranald McDonald. He knows more about McLoughlin than anybody." When she did find McDonald at old Fort Colville, and told him she was going to call McLoughlin "*The King of the Columbia*," he jokingly said "What, madame, call McLoughlin King of the Columbia! Why, madame, I am the King of the Columbia," and when he told his story, including his adventure in Japan, Mrs. Dye realized that here she had matter for another and greater book than the McLoughlin she then had in mind, and so carefully refrained from mentioning McDonald in that work, retaining this new hero for a book by himself. Arrangements were in progress for the McDonald story when McDonald himself suddenly died, not, however, until he had directed her to various sources of information on his remarkable career. Many letters and some manuscripts he had attempted to prepare had been loaned to Malcolm McLeod, of Ottawa, which he was unable to get back. After McDonald's

death Mrs. Dye wrote several times to Mr. McLeod at Ottawa, but could obtain no response. Efforts in other directions were equally unavailing. One day, in great discouragement, Mrs. Dye was returning from Portland to Oregon City on the trolley when she took the only vacant seat, at the side of Rev. J. H. B. Beaven, now pastor of the Park Street Baptist Church of Walla Walla. A slight conversation ensued, in which Mr. Beaven casually referred to the climate of Eastern Washington. Full of her subject Mrs. Dye immediately asked: "Were you ever at Fort Colville, and did you know Ranald McDonald?" "I knew him well," was the reply. "I visited the old man in his last years, and he told me he had a manuscript stolen by some one in Canada, some account of his travels and doings in Japan." "The very manuscript I am in search of!" exclaimed Mrs. Dye, more determined than ever to continue her quest.

About this time Mrs. Dye succeeded in interesting the private secretary of the Premier of British Columbia, Mr. R. E. Gosnell, later and better known as the editor of the *Victoria Colonist*. "I am going to Ottawa on official business," said Mr. Gosnell, "and I will look the matter up." In a few days Mr. Gosnell telegraphed that Malcolm McLeod was dead, and the unsettled state of his affairs had caused the delay, as his papers were in the hands of litigants. Again he wired: "I have the manuscript. Will bring it to Victoria." Scarcely had Mr. Gosnell reached Victoria before Mrs. Dye was ready for her journey, but while drawing on her gloves to start, came the word: "As Parliament is in session, I shall not have time to attend to the McDonald matter now." Mrs. Dye, however, went, and from Seattle sent word, "I shall not interfere with your Parliament; all I want is the manuscript." Although surprised at her appearance in Victoria, Mr. Gosnell received the American author very courteously, permitting her to examine McDonald's Japanese papers in a vacant wing of the Parliament building now rapidly filling up with arriving legislators of British Columbia. As Mr. Gosnell was unwilling to give up the papers, and feeling, too, that in a way they belonged to Victoria, Mrs. Dye resolved to take notes of what she could, but a few hours examination revealed that notes would be of no avail in such a mass of important and valuable matter. It happened that two public stenographers were stationed in different rooms of the wing, and to them Mrs. Dye applied for aid in intervals when provincial statesmen were not dictating private letters or public papers. The girls became greatly interested, came early, and kept their typewriters clicking until the janitors shut the doors at night, until one day the whole Parliament burst in with the sergeant-at-arms swinging his baton, "Clear out! Clear out! Parliament has gone into

committee of the whole," at the same time rushing the typewriters out of the room. The frightened women gathered up the precious sheets and fled precipitately, flushed with anxiety and excitement over the scattered pieces. Hurriedly all was arranged, the girls offering to finish the last paragraph, which they were now rapidly approaching. "No," said Mrs. Dye, "I have enough, I have the story," and, paying them, she departed with her treasure for Seattle and Oregon City. Finding many breaks and discrepancies, Mrs. Dye later obtained a loan of the numerous letters she had been unable to copy, and filled out many details of McDonald's experiences in Japan.

Another long search was made in Washington by Senator Charles W. Fulton, to obtain the government depositions made by McDonald when he was rescued by an American war vessel. These had been published in a Senate document that stirred Commodore Perry to the Japan expedition in 1852, but no spare copies could be found in the public archives. By good luck, however, Senator Fulton found a yellowed, old, weather-beaten copy in a second hand book store in Washington, for which he paid two dollars and a half, a little bunch of mildewed leaves that any casual observer might have considered waste paper.

Still a third search ensued for an old volume, "The Voyage of the Morrison," that Judge Wickersham, of Alaska, said he had once seen, giving an account of the Japanese castaways so often mentioned in McLoughlin and other Hudson Bay documents. An examination of libraries of the United States at last revealed an antiquated copy in the Boston Public Library. This was drawn out for Mrs. Dye by the late Dr. Judson Smith, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who forwarded it to his old-time pupil at Oregon City. The precious book was received, read and returned to its place in the Boston Library in exactly fourteen days—the two weeks allowed for the ordinary use of a library book—a remarkable feat when the distance and difficulties of the journey are considered. The wildest dream of the pioneers never pictured Pacific Coast readers drawing books from the Boston Public Library, and returning them with the ease and promptness of dwellers in the vicinity of the Hub.

Hawaiian, Canadian and American newspapers of a half century ago, revealed additional contemporary accounts of the McDonald affair that seems then to have created profound sensation.

Mrs. Dye has received many fine letters concerning her latest publication, of which the following, from Dr. William Elliot Griffis, author of "The Mikado's Empire," is a sample:



"Congratulations on your book 'McDonald of Oregon,' which I have begun to read, and which will probably spoil another night for me. I am glad that you can shout Eureka! while I am still in the tub. For years I have been trying to ferret out Ranald McDonald's whereabouts and personality, or footprints on the sands of time, but all inquiries and postage stamps, and machine made and autograph letters were alike in vain. But I am glad that you have found out the person and the facts, and added some prismatic of fancy to make a winsome 'Tale of Two Shores.' I am hoping some day to write more fully the story of the January and February of Japan's present June, and show some of the secrets of the outflowering of a nation. I am glad you have fulfilled my prophesy, that the story of McDonald would one day be fully written, and wish you all success."

These notes will give the reader an idea of how this latest Pacific Coast book came to be written, of the troubles of the enthusiastic and industrious author in getting together her materials and information, and of the value of the work to us all on this Pacific Coast. In connection with her historical and literary labors Mrs. Dye has, during the past few years, got together thousands of letters, pamphlets, reports, manuscripts, documents, etc., with which she has richly endowed the Oregon Historical Society, securing which, cost her much trouble and much money, and the value of which is very great.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

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**The Electoral System of the United States.** By J. Hampden Dougherty. (New York: Putnam's Sons.)

This is the most elaborate history of the electoral count so far published, and traces in a very satisfactory manner the struggles over the electoral count from 1789 to the passage of the Act of 1887. This history of the count is followed by a chapter on the Appointments of Electors, another on the amendments offered relative to the elective system, and finally a suggested remedy by the author.

After one has read this carefully written work through he cannot help being struck by what seems to be an utter incapacity of Congress to deal with a question that has not been made a vital issue between political parties. That the subject of the electoral count has been of vital importance we all know and that it may again become such the author clearly shows, and yet almost every attempt at securing a remedy has been a questionable makeshift. The reason why the framers of the constitution did not provide for some adequate means of counting disputed returns, is of course known to all. Under the system laid down by them it was hard to see how disputed returns could



arise. Yet in the infancy of our government we radically changed, in practice, the methods of selecting a president and this new wine in old bottles has made us no end of trouble. "The country has twice been brought to the brink of revolution" because the constitution which simply says, "the votes shall then be counted" has not told us who shall count them, or even what a vote legally is.

The ordinary layman, unversed in the metaphysics of constitutional law would simply say the constitution has not provided for this emergency. Not so a constitutional lawyer, for he must deduce a constitutional theory to decide the question. And so in every emergency we have had equally great lawyers arguing that the president of the Senate should count, that both houses of Congress should count, that neither has the right. More than that they have not been able to decide with any degree of unanimity what the word count means. Does it simply mean add up? If so, what shall we add in case of disputed returns? and if we must determine which votes to exclude what shall be our criterion and who shall exercise the function?

But the worst is yet to come, after we have "counted" we have not been able to tell who did the counting.

Speaking of the election of 1800, the late Alex. Johnson said "the president of the Senate passed the certificates to the tellers of the two Houses, who "counted" them in the proper meaning of the word. The certificates of election which were made out by order of Congress from 1797 until 1821, all contained the distinct affirmation that the president of the Senate did, . . . open all the certificates and count all the votes of the electors." (p. 59). In harmony with Prof. Johnson's views, we find those of Pinckney in 1800, and of John Randolph in 1821.

McKnight, in his work on the Electoral Count, states the opposite view as to who did the counting. He holds that the two Houses did the counting in every election from 1793 on, and Congress seems to have taken this view of the matter as is shown by the concurrent orders and standing joint rules through which they carried out the process.

In the case of Missouri's vote in 1821 Congress could not even decide whether or not Missouri was a state or a territory and did not so far as that count was concerned.

"When the electoral count was made in 1869 the scenes of tumult and disorder eclipsed even the violent occurrences of 1857. A stormy debate followed in the House, lasting three days after the count was completed," and the acrimonious discussion "exhibited the same discordant views that had appeared in every preceding debate in Congress."

In the case of Horace Greeley, who died after the general election and before the electoral votes were counted we find Congress-

man Hoar objecting that Greeley was dead, "and was not a **person** within the meaning of the Constitution." The House supported this view, while the Senate decided in substance that he was a "**person** within the meaning of the Constitution."

The vote of Arkansas having been questioned, we find the dignified Senate going through this farce, as described by Senator Sherman:

"Each senator went up to the desk and examined the paper, and without having time to look at the law, without having even time to send to the library to see what the constitution of Arkansas required, we fell into the error of supposing a fact which did not exist. That the State of Arkansas had a seal, and therefore we rejected the vote of that state because of the want of a state seal to the certificate." (p.88.)

Coming down to the electoral commission act of 1877, Mr. Dougherty briefly sums up the net gain resulting from all this discussion as follows. "The outcome of practically one hundred years of discussion of a brief clause of the constitution was a law confessedly temporary in its operation, in which the doubts of a century are crystalized into statutory form." (p. 133).

The author's discussion of this disputed case is luminous, and we are prepared to expect that the learned judges on that commission would, like the learned lawyers of Congress fail to throw any light on the question. The commission left all the open questions exactly as they had been but they did decide to count the votes without going behind the returns, as the phrase goes, and that decision was by a strictly party vote—eight to seven.

Ten years later we have passed the act of 1887, which comes in for severe criticism at the author's hands. In the first place it lengthens the time between the general election and the meeting of the Electoral College, thus "giving opportunity for all sorts of political intrigues and tempts us into the very dangers against which the inventors of the electoral system aimed to protect us". Moreover, it is a clear usurpation by Congress. Where does Congress get the power to say as it does (section 2), that if a state does not settle its contest over electors at least six days before the day set for the electoral count, its vote shall not be counted? Furthermore, such settlement must be made by a law passed before such a contest arises. Not a single state has so far provided such a law. In case a dispute arises in a given state what more natural than for that state to **then** provide a law, and, will a vote under such circumstances be thrown out?

Another possible difficulty deserves pointing out. Suppose Jas. G. Blaine had been elected in 1892 (as he might very well have been, had he been willing to run), as his death occurred on

January 27, 1893, who would have been the constitutional successor of President Harrison? The whole subject is worthy of careful study and may be fraught with serious consequences.

In regard to the author's remedy, it seems sufficient to say that it is to be brought about by a constitutional amendment, which seems to us a theoretical possibility but a practical impossibility, unless it can be made an issue between parties, which seems rather doubtful.

Mr. Dougherty is deserving of much credit for his masterly study and no student of history or politics can afford to neglect a careful reading of it.

EDWARD McMAHON.

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**The Flora of the State of Washington.** By Charles V. Piper. (Washington, D. C.; Smithsonian Institute. 1906. Pp. 637.)

While a flora of the state is not primarily historical in its nature, the appearance of this excellent work marks an epoch in the botany of the state and thus in the history of the state as well. Moreover, the author is one of the sons of Washington and the product of Washington's institutions, and history is measured by men and not by time.

In the preparation of this work Professor Piper has spent years visiting herbaria to examine specimens, hunting up old records to locate early collections, traveling back and forth through the state, visiting every mountain and valley, every nook and cranny. A state so diverse in its climatology needs careful study for a complete flora, and the book shows that this has been given.

Professor Piper is better fitted to write such a book than any other man. He was raised among Washington plants, and has been interested in them from his youth. He has lived in western Washington, getting his college training in the University of Washington, and among our trees and shrubs, collecting constantly far and wide. He has spent years in eastern Washington, in the state college as professor of biology, thus becoming familiar at first hand with the flora of the eastern section of the state. He then went into the department of agriculture, at Washington, D. C., thus getting near the great collections of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, with the Gray Herbarium at Harvard, and with the Britton collection, at the New York Botanical Garden. His work in the department of agriculture also required travel, thus giving him opportunity of meeting noted local collectors and examining their collections. In every way the man has been prepared for the work, and the work shows it.

The book considers the ferns and flowering plants only. The context may be considered under two heads, namely, the ecology of the state, and a catalogue of the plants in it.

The ecological portion opens with a short account of the plant collectors of the state, many of whom are well known as historical characters. Mention may be made of Menzies, Lewis, Douglas, Scouler, Tolmie, Gairdner, Wyeth, Nuttall, Pickering, Brackenridge, Geyer, Spalding, Lyall, Jeffrey and others; and what an array of names we get from them! There are the genera *Douglasia*, *Menziesia*, *Scouleria*, *Piperia*, *Wyethia*; and there are species after species of *nuttallii*, *tolmiei*, *piperi*, *menziesii*, *douglasii*, *gairdneri*, *jeffreyi*, *cusickii*, *geyeri*, *suksdorfii*, *lyallii*, *scouleri*, *hendersoni*, *howellii*, *brandegii*, *flettii*, *watsoni*, *liebergii*, *cottoni*.

On account of its varying ecological conditions the State is considered divided into six general zones or areas according to altitude, rainfall, and cold. These six zones are the Upper Sonoran, Humid Transitional, Canadian, Hudsonian, Arctic, and Arid Transitional. These zones are taken up in order, their boundaries somewhat defined, and the characteristic plants for each listed.

The Upper Sonoran area is the sagebrush area, now becoming the area of tomatoes, peaches and watermelons. This comprises chiefly the great basin of the Columbia, and extends southward. The plants of this region Professor Piper traces largely from the great basin region of Nevada and southeastern Oregon, and from California. A list of California plants found in the Upper Sonoran area is given, as is a list of the Great basin plants. He points out that plants would travel fastest in the direction of the prevailing winds. These are from the south, and often quite strong. The California plants seem to have come by way of Klamath gap, the Siskiyou mountains blocking the way northward along the Willamette valley. The passage of Willamette valley plants up the Columbia does not seem to have taken place, for which he accounts by the fact that these moist-region plants are illy adapted to the dry climate of the Upper Sonoran area.

The Humid Transitional area is the lower wet regions west of the Cascade range. It extends from southern Oregon northwards, and may be recognized in a general way as the region of the red fir, brake, salal, Oregon grape, huckleberry and dogwood. This he again divides into uplands, bottom lands, and gravelly prairies. The uplands are covered with firs and such other plants as one finds on the hills about Seattle. The bottom lands correspond in flora to our lake borders and deep-shaded gullies, where we find the ash, maple and devil's club. The



gravelly prairies are such regions as those about Olympia, where are found scattered oaks and pines. A list of Humid-Transitional area plants, found only west of the Cascade-Sierra Nevada range, is given, and another common to eastern Washington. He believes the latter reached here by way of Klamath gap. Along the coast the Sitka spruce replaces the fir. There also one finds other plants on account of the sandy soil and proximity of salt water. Throughout the whole area one finds peat bogs, which have a flora characteristic of such bogs elsewhere.

The Arid Transitional area, limited to eastern Washington, is that region between the Humid and the Sonoran, or very dry, region. This he considers made up of two fairly distinct strips, the lower or drier of which is characterized by the bunch grass and June grass flora, a treeless region just above the Sonoran sagebrush region. This includes the Walla Walla, Palouse and Big Bend regions. The higher and damper he calls the yellow pine belt. This is between 1,800 and 3,300 feet in altitude. The fir often accompanies the pine. Lists of plants of the Arid Transitional area are given, showing that many of them are common to California, to the Columbia basin or to the Rocky mountains. A comparison of the Humid Transitional with the Arid Transitional plants points toward the interesting hypothesis that many Arid Transitional plants have persisted from a former glacial period, and are now on the verge of extinction on account of changed conditions.

The Canadian zone is an illy defined one above the Humid Transitional. The characteristic trees are the white pine, lodgepole pine, hemlock, noble fir, amabilis fir, white fir, Engelmann's spruce and larch. Among these also grow red firs. Among its characteristic shrubs are the dwarf cornel and trailing mountain black berry. This zone is in scattered localities, and its limits are not well defined.

The Hudsonian zone is just below the Arctic, and is the highest of the timbered zones. It may be known by its characteristic plants, of which the following are noteworthy: Subalpine fir, black hemlock, Alaska cedar, white-bark pine, azalia, mountain ash, bear grass. A table of the plants of the Hudsonian zone, showing practically the same plants in this zone on the various mountains of this state, as well as those of Oregon and California, is interesting from the standpoint of geology. How did they get there?

The Arctic zone is that above the timber line, and thus consists of strips and patches on the high ridges and peaks. Here are abundant wild flowers, sedges and the heathers. A long list of characteristic plants is given, comparing their occurrence in this zone, on various peaks of this state, or Oregon, and in the



Arctic regions of the North. Such tables are extremely interesting.

How can we account for the same plants on top of Mount Shasta, Mount Hood, Mount Rainier, Mount Baker, Blue mountains, and the level Arctic regions of Alaska? Can seed blow from one cold peak to another? The general conclusion is that they wandered southward during a geological ice period, and when the climate changed to a warmer one the plants either receded to the north or up the mountains before the warmer climate. Those which went up instead of north were cut off, like detachments of a retreating army; some were overtaken on low peaks and overwhelmed; others more fortunate in scaling higher peaks are still finding favorable conditions. Long isolation, however, is apt to cause changes in the plants, thus resulting in new species. So such areas become interesting from the standpoint of evolution.

Professor Piper points out as of special botanic interest the Olympic mountains, the Columbia gorge, Klickitat county; Mount Stuart and the Wenatchee mountains, and the Blue mountains; the Olympics and Blue mountains on account of their isolation; Mount Stuart and the Wenatchee mountains on account of granitic character, dry situation and isolation; Klickitat county on account of its mixture of humid transitional and arid transitional climate and warm southern slope; the Columbia gorge on account of its varied conditions of moisture and soil.

An interesting page is a list of 188 plants known to occur only in the state of Washington. Two of these are the only representatives of their genera. So long a list spells unmistakably diversity of conditions, together with isolation.

The catalogue of the ferns and flowering plants of the state comprises most of the book. There is no key to the families. This is unfortunate, since the book would be of much greater use to those who are not primarily botanists, if such a key were given. From the family, however, keys are given to genera and species. The fact that it has these keys alone makes it a book that should be in every high school in the State. The book is not a manual, like Gray's or Coulter's, but a catalogue. There is not given, therefore, a description of the various plants. It is evidently not intended primarily as a book for amateurs, but a work upon which future works adapted to beginners may be based. What is given of each plant, so far as possible, is (a) the scientific name; (b) the common name; (c) the synonyms of the scientific names, and citations to literature, the latter being extremely valuable to investigators; (d) the type locality, that is, the place where the plant was first found; (e) the range, or general distribution of the plant, and throughout the United

States in particular; (f) the zonal distribution, it being well known that plants are not found everywhere over their range but are limited to certain localities by the soil, cold, or rainfall; (g) a list of the specimens examined by Prof. Piper as a basis for his conclusions.

The book includes many new species which seem to be founded on good distinctions. The fact that there are not more of them reflects great credit upon Professor Piper. It is often a temptation to taxonomists to divide old species into several or many new ones upon insignificant or poorly marked characters. Many men would have given us a doubtful list of new species as big as the work could stand without becoming ridiculous.

This work is one many of us have long expected, knowing that Professor Piper was at work upon it, and is a decided contribution to botanical literature. The only books of the kind for our territory are quite unsatisfactory, and no good book upon the classification of ferns and flowering plants of Washington can hereafter be written without acknowledging the debt we owe to Professor Piper.

THEODORE C. FRYE.

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**"The True History of The Civil War."** By Guy Carlton Lee, of Johns Hopkins University. (J. B. Lippincott Company. 1903. \$2.)

This is the last published volume in the "True" series of biographies and histories and the reviewer is puzzled to know what has led a responsible house to publish the work.

The first half of the book is taken up with the causes leading up to the war, and in this part we get some curious information. The opening sentence informs us that "the seeds of dissension between the North and the South were carried to Virginia in the ships commanded by Newport, and to Massachusetts in the 'Mayflower.'" "As two distinct classes of English society settled America, so did two distinct principles actuate and control the settlement itself—material interests, as sought by the individual adventurer as well as by the whole colony; ideas, seeking a refuge in the wilderness from cramping intolerance at home." (13). "We have, then, two peoples who, though geographically undivided, inevitably drew apart from each other because the dominant strain in each originally sprang from different classes of society and because of the results of dissimilar environment." (14).

"Men who have been persecuted cultivate intolerance when they come into power: Consequently, the *laissez faire* principle was an impossibility in New England." (16). Now notice what we are coming to. "The immoderation of the abolition-

ist descended to New Englanders by direct inheritance from the narrowness of the Puritan," and here we have the author's dominant thought, the abolitionists were the North. Time and again he says this is not true. Then he proceeds with his argument based on the belief that it is true.

"Public opinion in the North, however, where domestic servitude was not profitable, grew more and more opposed to the institution, especially after the discovery that slavery and the tariff were irreconcilable, until at last the institution was then stigmatized as the 'sum of all villanies.'" The "latent antagonism of social organization" was stirred by the abolitionists until it "warped and distorted the view which the people of each took of the aims of the other" (19), until ultimate conflict became inevitable.

In the second chapter on "the slavery problem," we find that "though actually prohibited, slavery in strict legality was not formally abolished in Massachusetts until 1866, when it was ended throughout the United States by the XIIIth amendment. It is a curious fact that the legal termination of slavery in Massachusetts was accomplished by the votes of Georgia and South Carolina. Those states towards which the abolitionists had been most bitter." (37). Thus it is seen that these southern states heaped coals of fire on the Massachusetts head by returning good for evil.

The South could not perform the same Christian act towards New Hampshire because "Slavery in New Hampshire died a natural death, all negroes born after the constitution of 1776 was adopted, being considered free." (37).

"Vermont, by her constitution of 1793, prohibited the institution. In like manner, it soon disappeared from New Jersey and Pennsylvania. . . ." (38).

Jefferson's ordinance of 1784, was lost by one vote, and "it seems wonderful that an all-wise Providence, that is supposed to watch the destinies of nations, did not intervene to ward off such a cataclysm as resulted." (41).

The vast majority of the Northern people were sincere in their declaration that it was not their intention to interfere with the "peculiar institution" where it existed. "But such an ideal state of things was impossible. The day of compromise was a thing of the past." (47). "The time of judgment had passed: The passions of North and South were aroused. The abolitionist movement found its opportunity. The frothing of fanatics stirred both sections to a frenzy with which astute politicians played. It gave the leaders the shibboleth by which they led the United States into the turmoil of secession and the hor-

rors of that war that forced the renewal of the partnership the South sought to dissolve." (53).

"The South fought because it would brook no interference by the federal government in state prerogative, particularly as concerned with slavery, below Mason and Dixon's line. The North fought for its idea of the Union. . . . When, in 1856, the new Republican party succeeded the Whig, slavery became the vital issue." (54). "Previous to that time it had been mainly a question as to which organization should hold the balance of power, the South being specially desirous of protecting the institution." Hence it follows that the war was "in point of fact, a war of politicians."

Chapter IV. The nationalization of slavery, opens with Seward's statement that there is a higher law than the constitution, and then the author affirms, "the 'higher law' meant one thing when applied to slavery, and it meant quite another when considered in connection with the tariff," and finally, "that the national policy was shaped upon personalities, and that the selfish interests of ambitious politicians determined the course of national as well as of local affairs, are undeniable truths." (88). "The fugitive slave law caused more pitiful shifting and skulking to avoid responsibility than any previous piece of national legislation." (89).

The peace following the compromise of 1850, was rudely shattered by Douglas, "to further his ambitious schemes" and the understanding was, "that Kansas should be an acquisition to the slave-holding states." The Kansas-Nebraska act "was signed by the President amidst the firing of cannon and the shouting of its friends." (99). "There was no possibility of slavery taking root in the newly opened country; climate, soil and the very configuration of the land itself entirely unfitted it for anything but the energetic resources of free labor. It was useless, as Webster had said, to 'reaffirm an ordinance of nature, or to reenact the will of God.'" (100). Adams "was elected by Clay's casting the tie vote in his favor." (108). "The Whig party went to pieces on the rock of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the Republican party took its place," and so on to the end of the chapter.

In the seventh chapter (170), we read, "on the 9th of January, 1861, was struck the first blow of the civil war," but in the eighth chapter (186), we read, concerning the relief of Fort Sumter, "the descent of the fleet was in truth the inauguration of the war between the sections," and a little later we are informed that the whole question is enshrouded in doubt. "With the fleet in the harbor and Charleston menaced by the guns of



Sumter, South Carolina could place no confidence in Northern pledges."

"The ultimate defeat of the South was a foregone conclusion from the start." (210).

The chapters dealing with the actual war are written in the same slap dash fashion without historical insight or order. Only the more important battles are touched upon, and the generals come in for fair treatment on the whole, all except McClellan, who "did not wish to fight. He was either a coward or disloyal. That he was the former cannot be established." (296).

To point out all the errors of statement and fact would require a volume. There is in the book much material not usually found in a book of its size, but it is very poorly handled. The student of history will read it with mingled feelings of disgust and amusement. It is too full of errors to be of value to the reading public.

EDWARD McMAHON.

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**Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage.** 1684-7. With historical and biographical introduction, annotations and index. By Henry Reed Stiles, A. M., M. D. (Albany, N. Y.: Joseph McDonough.)

This volume is the third and last of a series on the "Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley," projected by the late John Gilmary Shea, L. L. D. The first volume issued in 1852, comprised the narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin and Anastase Douay. The second, issued in 1861, contained those of Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Seur, Gravier and Guignas. The present volume is reprinted from the first English translation of 1714, of the original French edition of 1713.

Rene Robert Cavelier, better known as La Salle, from the name of the family's estate, stands "second only to Champlain, among the heroes of Canadian history." The first voyage of La Salle (1669-1675), on which he started from La Chine with the Ohio river as his objective point, is partly involved in obscurity, but it is believed that he discovered the Ohio river and also the Illinois river. His second voyage (1678-1679), was made in conjunction with Tantis, La Matte and Hennepin. After building a fort two leagues above the falls of the Niagara, another at St. Joseph, on the Miami, and a third at Fort Crevecoeur, on the Illinois, in the present state of Illinois, the party descended the Mississippi to its mouth and returned to Canada.

The third voyage made from France was begun from France in July, 1684, and had for its object the founding of a French and Indian colony on the Gulf of Mexico, and one in the Mississippi valley with a view to holding the territory for France. The



expedition comprised four vessels and about 280 persons, and it is of this party that Joutel writes.

Henry Joutel was a native of France, had served seventeen years in the army, was a practical man of affairs, a confident of the commander-in-chief, and had general charge of such matters as the provisioning, sheltering and general care of the party. His journal is simply and candidly written and gives the impression of sense and intelligence. Nowhere can one get a more vivid or interesting picture than in this journal.

The volume is enriched by notes written originally for a limited edition by the Caxton Club of Chicago. These notes by Prof. Melville B. Anderson have been incorporated with the author's permission.

A biography of "the discovery of the Mississippi," by Appleton P. C. Griffin, is an added feature. The book is carefully indexed.

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**Episodes From "The Winning of the West."** By Theodore Roosevelt. (New York: Putnam's Sons.)

This little book, evidently designed as a supplementary reader in history, for school use, is made up of twenty-three short sketches from President Roosevelt's larger work, "The Winning of the West." In it the author's powers of description are shown at their best and it is needless to say the book is interesting. The chapters dealing with the Backwoodsmen; Boone and the Long Hunters; Clark's Conquest of Illinois; King's Mountain; and St. Clair's Defeat, seem to us, especially well done. In the interest of historical accuracy, however, it would have been better had the story of the dance at Kaskaskia not been reprinted.

Some reference should have been made to the chapters of the larger work from which the extracts are taken, then the interested reader could readily continue his reading upon the topics in which he became interested. Some of the illustrations will no doubt awaken much interest, especially the floating mill on the Ohio and the emigrant boat.

## RECENT BOOKS.

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The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic church, by F. E. Warren, D. D. (Clarendon Press, Oxford), contains an interesting chapter on the history of the Celtic Church down to its union with the Roman branch. The second and third chapters, which complete the book, deal in detail with the liturgy proper.

Volumes twenty-eight and twenty-nine in the series, "Early Western Travels," edited by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, have just been issued from the press of the A. H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The former and about one-third of the latter is devoted to a reprint of T. J. Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies and Oregon Territory." Farnham will be remembered as one of those inspired by Jason Lee, (See, Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 27). The last part of the latter volume contains a reprint of Father P. J. De Smet's "Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mts., 1845-6." Doctor Thwaites writes the introduction and critical notes.

Robert Stribling, Lieutenant Colonel C. S. A. (Franklin Press Co., Petersburg, Va.), has written a small volume on "The Gettysburg Campaign and the Campaigns of 1864 and 1865, in Virginia." The work is based on the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," and has an added interest because of the part taken by Colonel Stribling as a Confederate officer.

"Alexander Hamilton, an Essay on the American Union," by Frederick Scott Oliver, (Putnam's Sons), is a bulky volume, setting forth Hamilton's part in bringing about the American Union. The author styles himself as a "writer of a dusty historical essay". He thinks Hamilton's life is much in need of a competent interpreter. "The present volume does not aim to supply the deficiency." Mrs. Atherton's "The Conqueror" is the "only vivid account of 'the man'" Hamilton that meets with Mr. Oliver's approval. His account is neither vivid nor an interpretation.

## NEWS DEPARTMENT

### Seattle Founders' Day Banquet.

One year ago after the Washington University State Historical Society unveiled six bronze tablets marking historic places in Seattle, and a granite obelisk at Alki Point, marking the landing place of the founders of the city on November 13, 1851, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce inaugurated the Founders' Day Banquet. It was a brilliant success as was the second one on November 13, 1906.

The spirit behind this newly established annual festival was well epitomized by Judge Thomas Burke, the toastmaster of the occasion, in this sentence: "When Seattle, one hundred years hence, has its teeming millions—five of them—let us hope that Founders' Day will be celebrated with as much ardor as is shown on this occasion." It is thus seen that the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and others who participate, are cherishing the memories of the past for the enlightenment and entertainment of the future.

The programme of this second banquet was as follows:

Introduction of Toastmaster Burke by Josiah Collins, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee.

"The Real Pioneers" (Indians), by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

"The Pathfinders," by W. T. Dovell.

"Small Beginnings," by E. L. Blaine.

"Pioneer Lawyers," by Hon. C. H. Hanford.

"Why Seattle Grows," by C. S. Miller.

"First Women of Seattle," by Thomas W. Prosch.

Vocal Solo—"The Old Settler," by Mrs. W. H. Whittlesey, accompanied by Walter B. Whittlesey.

Violin Solo—Aubrey Levy, accompanied by Eugene Levy.

"America," sung by the audience, led by Mrs. Whittlesey.

The addresses were all full of the spirit of the hour. One of them "The Pathfinders," is reproduced in this number of the *Quarterly*. Mr. W. T. Dovell was introduced as a native son of Washington, whose former home was in the city of Walla Walla.

**American Historical Association.**

The annual climax in the work of historians in this country is the meeting of the American Historical Association. This year the honor of entertaining this great convention fell to Providence, Rhode Island, during the four days, December 26 to 29.

Among other good things provided in the programme was a conference of state or local historical societies. In this conference the Washington University State Historical Society was represented by Professor Edmond S. Meany, secretary of the society and managing editor of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

At the same time and place meetings were held by the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Bibliographical Society of America, the American Sociological Society and the New England History Teachers' Association.

The first session of the American Historical Association was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association, when the annual addresses were given by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, president of the American Economic Association, and Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, president of the American Historical Association.

The second session was devoted to European history and those who participated were Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin, Henry Osborn Taylor of New York City, Louise Ropes Loomis of Cornell University, Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University and Professor Paul Van Dyke of Princeton University.

The third session was a joint meeting with the New England History Teachers' Association. It consisted of a conference, a report and discussion. The chairman of the conference was Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University. Those who participated in the discussion were H. P. Lewis, superintendent of schools, Worcester, Mass.; Herbert D. Foster, professor in Dartmouth College; John T. Manning, Public School No. 8, Bedford Park, New York; Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College; Julius Sachs, professor in the Teachers' College, Columbia University; and James Sullivan, Jr., High School of Commerce, New York City.

The fourth session was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association, and was devoted to economic history. Those who participated were Professor Ulysses G. Weatherly, of the University of Indiana, Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University, Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of

Wisconsin, Professors Simon N. Patton and Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania.

The fifth session was devoted to conferences and those who participated were: Professor Max Farrand of Stanford University, Professor George B. Adams of Yale University, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College, Professor George P. Garrison of the University of Texas, Professor John O. Sumner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the University of Iowa, Professor H. V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania, State Librarian John P. Kennedy of Richmond, Va.; Custodian of Public Records Luther R. Kelker of Harrisburg, Pa.; Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, and Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The sixth session was devoted to American Colonial history and was participated in by Professor Susan M. Kingsbury of Simmons College, Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, Professor Barrett Wendell of Harvard University, Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan, and George Louis Beer of New York City.

The seventh session was devoted to later American history. The following took part: Clarence S. Bingham of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Ulrich B. Phillips instructor in the University of Wisconsin, Professor Evarts B. Green of the University of Illinois, Professor Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, and Professor James A. Woodburn of the University of Indiana.

## **PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.**

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Portland, Oregon, was the place of meeting of this important exponent of historical work on the Pacific Coast. It was the third annual meeting of this branch of the national organization. Four workers in history—Max Farrand and Clyde A. Duniway, of the Stanford University Faculty; J. N. Bowman, of the University of California Faculty, and Mr. Don E. Smith, thought enough of the meeting to make the journey to Portland. The State of Washington was not represented nearly as well as it ought to have been. There were three earnest members from this state: Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Miss Lena Dodd of Kalama and Miss Katharine B. Judson of the Seattle Public Library.



The programme included the following papers:

Professor J. N. Bowman—"Cook's Place in Northwestern History."

Professor Clyde A. Duniway—"Suggestions on the History of the Federal Relations of the States."

Professor Max Farrand—"Criticism of American Historical Documents."

Professor Joseph Schafer—"Origin of the British Interest in the Northwest."

Mr. Don E. Smith—"Some Considerations on the History of Spain, and Spanish America in the 18th Century."

Professor H. Morse Stephens—"The Organization of Work with Historical Manuscripts."

Professor F. G. Young—"Finances of the Cayuse War."

The American Historical Association has surveyed thoroughly the field of historical society work in this country. The committee doing the work consisted of Reuben Gold Thwaites of Madison, Wisconsin; Benjamin F. Shambaugh of Iowa City, Iowa, and Franklin L. Riley of University, Mississippi. The report is full of interesting information. The following extracts will especially attract readers in the Pacific Northwest:

"After all, the principal desideratum is, as we have indicated, the personality back of the work, rather than the form of organization. It would be unwise, even if possible, to attempt the making over of men or of methods that in their respective environments either promise or have already attained satisfactory results. What is needed, rather, is the betterment of existing methods, and especially the enlisting in the service of well-trained and vigorous executive officers.

"Inspired, doubtless, by the example of the Wisconsin society, which is in close, although not official, connection with the University of Wisconsin, there has recently been a strong tendency on the part of Western and Southern historical organizations to associate themselves with their state universities. At the university town, of all communities in the state, exists a body of scholars who can most profitably utilize the collections of the historical society. The scholars need the inspiration of persistent, intelligent collection and publication; the society managers need the academic atmosphere and academic counsel in and with which to broaden and solidify their work, while the historical library finds its excuse in the largest possible circle of users. Recognition of these facts has, wherever possible, led to a closer union between society and university; but in several states, as in Missouri and Washington, where union with existing agencies seemed impracticable to the universities, the latter have secured the organization of rival state societies at their own seats. Such an arrangement, while doubtless benefitting the

universities, is apt to result in divided interest and appropriations. In several Western States difficulties of this character present problems that may be many years in the solution."

Later in the same report, under the head of "Interesting the Public," are the following paragraphs:

"Indeed this matter of arousing and maintaining public interest is of itself an important function of an historical society; but obviously this should be an intelligent, discriminating interest. Field meetings, popular lectures, work with the schools, some measure of coordination with pioneer and old settlers' societies of the district, pilgrimages to places of historic interest, the promotion of anniversary celebrations, and the placing of tablets upon historic sites—all these are within the province of the society.

"The enlistment of college and university interests is likewise highly desirable, especially in the matter of research and preparing material for publication; although in becoming academic, the society should be careful not to remove itself too far from the understanding and sympathy of the common people. Popularity and exact scholarship are not incompatible. One of the principal aims of an historical society should be the cultivation among the masses of that civic patriotism which is inevitably the outgrowth of an attractive presentation of local history."

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRE-HISTORY OF PUGET SOUND.

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Harlan I. Smith, formerly of Saginaw, but since 1895 of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, has on the press of E. J. Brill, the publisher of Leyden, Holland, a voluminous report on his scientific researches into the prehistoric culture of Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia. This book, entitled "The Archaeology of Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia," is one of the series of memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific expedition, on which Mr. Smith was the American archaeologist. The expedition, financed by Morris K. Jesup, president of the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, had for its object the investigation of man, past and present, on the North Pacific Coast from Columbia river in America to Amur river in Asia. Mr. Smith's present memoir will be illustrated by photographs taken by him in the field and by pen drawings of over 200 artifacts and objects of art. This book completes his general report on the archaeological work done by the expedition in America, reports on the southern interior of British Columbia, the cairns of British Columbia and Washington, and the shell heaps or ancient village refuse piles of the lower Fraser, having already appeared and the remaining matter being details of

neighboring regions rather than general increments to knowledge. The reports are published as archives to record the knowledge gained so that it may never be lost, as by the burning of one manuscript. They find their way into the libraries of learned societies, museums and universities in all parts of the world from Japan to Argentine republic, and from them material for newspapers, magazines, text books for schools, encyclopedias and lecturers is taken by virtue of their not being copyrighted and the facts being free for any seeker to abstract for his own particular purpose.

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Another of the pioneers of the Pacific Coast has gone. George E. Cole, who died in Portland, Oregon, Dec. 3d, 1906, came to California among the first of the Argonauts. Like the others he was in quest of gold. After drifting about for some months he started for some newly discovered gold mines in Northern California. Routes of travel were different from those since. To get to these California diggings he sailed on the brig Reindeer, October 24th, 1850, for Umpqua City, near the mouth of Umpqua river, in Oregon, some hundreds of miles northwest from the place to which he was bound. The brig had in all about seventy passengers, most of them, queerly enough, destined for Portland, other hundreds of miles northeast from the point of debarkation. Among these passengers was Philip Ritz, who later came to Washington Territory, and became one of its most influential, valuable and distinguished citizens. Cole and Ritz had crossed the plains together, and were warm personal friends, chumming it frequently, and being associated in interest many times until the death of Ritz, forty years later. They were diverted from the California mines and settled in Oregon instead, where they dwelt ten or twelve years, when they removed to Washington, establishing themselves in the Walla Walla country. While in Oregon Mr. Cole served in the Territorial Legislature two years, he being a member of the House of Representatives in 1852-53, with Ebey, Chenoweth and others, when the counties of Pierce, King, Jefferson and Island, on Puget Sound, were created. He served as first clerk of the U. S. District Court in Oregon, in 1859-60. In 1863, while a resident of Walla Walla, he was nominated for delegate to Congress by the Democratic convention of Washington Territory. His opponent was Rev. J. O. Raynor, a Methodist clergyman then serving as chaplain at the military post of Fort Steilacoom. The Territory was Democratic in its earlier years, and Cole was elected. The pay of congressmen at that time was \$3,000 per annum, in paper money worth only 50 cents on the dollar. Delegate Cole found it very difficult to live in Washington City, and maintain his family on his allowance

as a member of Congress. He stood by President Andrew Johnson in his struggle with the Republicans, who considered Johnson not only a political apostate, but a traitor, and who all but successfully endeavored to remove him from the chief magistracy by impeachment. Johnson appointed Cole Governor of Washington Territory, to succeed William Pickering. Cole held the office but a short time, when he yielded it to another appointee of Johnson's, Marshall F. Moore, a war Democrat and ex-Union soldier. Cole removed to Portland, becoming a Republican in politics, and being appointed by President U. S. Grant postmaster of the city in 1873, an office that he held for eight years. He then removed to Spokane county, where he became a farmer and citizen of prominence, his last public service being that of county treasurer. Mr. Cole was married twice, his first wife being an Oregon woman and the second Eastern, both being dead. He also had two children—Fred and Ella. In 1905 Mr. Cole published a small book of 95 pages, giving in pleasant manner his experiences and observations in "Early Oregon, 1850 to 1860." Born in Trenton, N. J., Dec. 23d, 1826, he lacked but twenty days of being 80 years of age at the time of his death.

#### **Transplanted for a Year.**

Professor J. N. Bowman, head of the history department of the State Normal School at Bellingham, is absent on a year's leave of absence. He received a temporary call to the assistant professorship of Medieval History at the University of California. He is enjoying the work at Berkeley and friends in the Northwest are delighted over his increasing success.

## REPRINT DEPARTMENT

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In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

The value of the book we are here reproducing has been severely criticized by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. In a later issue his views will be given, but the editors believe that there is enough of value in the book to warrant its reproduction especially in view of the fact that it is exceedingly rare, and in view of the further fact that it is being quoted and criticised by different sides of the Whitman controversy.

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### THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

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By George Wilkes.

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[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical  
Quarterly.]

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#### PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon  
Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish  
Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the  
United States Title.

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#### THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.\*

In 1491, the western hemisphere slept unknown in the abyss. In 1492 Spain redeemed it to the world. Between 1512 and 1541, she settled Mexico, occupied Florida, traversed the whole north-

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\*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.



ern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and explored the interior of the continent as far as the fortieth degree of north latitude. In 1543 she explored the coast under Cabrillo and Bartoleme Ferrelo, as high as the forty-fourth parallel, and from that year till 1580 we hear of no other adventure in a northern latitude. In the last mentioned year, however, Sir Francis Drake appeared in the North Pacific, and as the British government have seen fit to lay great stress upon his discoveries, it is necessary that we should give them particular attention.

Drake was one of the most distinguished of the buccaneers who cursed the face of the ocean during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He had heard of the enormous profits derived from the pillage of the South American Spanish settlements, and appealing to Queen Elizabeth (who secretly encouraged this system of warfare, in flagrant violation of the laws of humanity and of the rights of Spain to her Pacific discoveries), received her aid to his nefarious schemes. With, therefore, no object beyond piracy and plunder, he entered the Pacific in 1578, and during the course of that and the following year, ravaged every town of note on the coast of South America, committing the most barbarous outrages on their unoffending inhabitants. Being at last gorged with spoil and satiated with ravage, his next object was to secure a safe retreat; but fearing to take the risk of a return through the Straits of Magellan, lest the exasperated Spaniards should concentrate their forces there to cut him off, he resolved to return home by way of the Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. He accordingly ranged along the coast as high as the 42d or 43d degrees of north latitude, when, being pinched by the cold, he turned back and ran into the bay of San Francisco, in lat. 38. Here he stopped five weeks to refit, and for the purpose of awing the natives into submission, made a pompous display of colors and music, which he afterwards very modestly called taking possession for the British Crown. Though Drake knew from the accounts of the natives, and the articles of European manufacture he found among them, that the country had been discovered and visited long before, he could not overlook so favorable an opportunity of covering the dishonest nature of his enterprise; so he assumed the character of a discoverer, and performed the double service of saving both himself and his mis-

tress from impertinent inquiry by the evasion. He was rewarded on his return home for the murders he had committed and the plunder which he shared, by a baronetcy instead of a rope, and descended to posterity as **Sir Francis Drake**, the celebrated navigator, instead of Drake, the bold pirate. On this infamous basis do the British Government found their claims to Oregon, and it may be regarded as significant of the ramifications of the design. They insist that Drake explored the coast as high as  $48^{\circ}$ , and rely upon the statements of a work called the "World Encompassed," published by an unknown compiler, from "notes of the Rev. Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this (Drake's) employment." But as this journal was not made until **sixty-three** years after the voyage was made, and as its incongruous statements are directly contradicted by a work published immediately after the return of the expedition, when this Mr. Fletcher and all the parties were alive, and able to refute it, we are not bound to bestow a grave consideration on its statements. The following extract will serve to show the consistency and veracity of the Preacher's statement:

"On the 3d June (1580) we came in latitude  $42^{\circ}$  N., but in the night we found such an alteration of heat to extreme cold, as caused our men to grievously complain. The land bearing farther out in to the west than we had imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware. The 5th of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore and cast an anchor in a bad bay, where we were not without some danger by the **extreme gusts and flaws** that beat upon us. In this place there was no abiding, on account of the extreme cold, **and the wind still directly bent upon us**, commanded us south whether we would or no. From the height of  $48^{\circ}$ , in which we now were, to  $38^{\circ}$ , we found the land low and reasonably plain, and in  $38^{\circ} 20'$  fell in with a fit and convenient harbor, where we anchored. During all this time we were visited with like nipping colds, **neither was the air during the whole fourteen days so clear as to enable us to take the height of sun or star**. Though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place toward the east, **but rather running in continually north-west, as if it were directly to meet with Asia.**"

Really, this preacher expects a great deal from our simplicity, for he coolly tells us that he accomplished a sailing distance of nearly, if not quite, **four hundred miles** under the most adverse circumstances, in **two days**. Moreover, we find upon an exam-

ination of the maps, that the coast between these latitudes, so far from running continually "**north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia,**" does not in any part trend one point toward the west. By comparing the two accounts, we find that the first historian (Mr. Francis Pretty), whose relation being published immediately upon its conclusion, may be regarded as the official journal of the voyage, sets the latitude of 5th June at  $43^{\circ}$ , while the other, whose work was not ventured before all the actors had departed from the stage, marks it  $48^{\circ}$ . It may be that Fletcher's manuscript has its degrees of latitude indicated by figures, and that a peculiarity of formation has confounded 43 with 48; but if the inconsistency is not explained in this way, we must of necessity conclude that the preacher, whose hard task it was to make robbery and ravage square with the ordinances of religion, has been gradually brought to consider romance as his peculiar province, and to estimate a serviceable fiction over a commonplace fact. The character of this production of Mr. Fletcher's appears to have been pretty well understood by the historians of the last century, for while but three writers previous to 1750 (and those of but little reputation\*) adopt his statements, they are rejected by the great mass of authorities, comprising Ogilby, in his *History of America*, De Laet, in his *History of the New World*, Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, Locke, in his *History of Navigation*, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his biography of Drake, and Dr. Robertson, in his *Standard History of America*, none of them allowing Drake the credit of an advance above  $43^{\circ}$ , while the latter positively states that he turned back at the 42d parallel. When, in addition to the indisputable veracity of these writers, we take into consideration they are all, with one exception, Britons, who cannot be accused of an indifference to the glory of their country, we must reject the claim which is based upon the counter statement, as without foundation. Even admitting the latitude they ask, the very principles of international law they have advanced plunges them into an inextricable difficulty. By the rule which we have extracted from Vattel, **a discovery**, to confer a title, is clogged with a proviso in the concluding clause, that **a real possession** must follow soon after. Now we shall see in the progress of our inquiry, that **one hundred and ninety-**

\*John Davis, Admiral Monson, and Captain Burney.

**eight years elapsed** before another English navigator entered the northern latitudes of the Northwest coast. As the most romantic imagination can hardly construe this into being **soon enough after**, we shall not hesitate to strike the pretensions, on the score of Drake, from off the record.

From the date of the expedition of Cabrillo and Ferrelo (1543), we hear of no further discovery to the north, except what is contained in the account of a voyage made by Francisco Gali, or Guelli, a merchantman, who in his course from China to Mexico is said to have reached the vicinity of the American continent, in  $57\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and to have sailed along in sight of its coast till he arrived at the bay of San Francisco, in latitude  $37\frac{1}{2}$ . But little reliance is to be placed upon this account, however, as by Guelli's own statement the land first seen by him "was very high and fair, and wholly without snow," which could not have been the case with the land in that latitude. It makes but little difference whether he is entitled to all he claimed or not, for subsequent discoveries cover all the ground which this could have occupied, if it were ever so substantial.

The next discovery by the Spaniards on the Northwest coast took place in 1592, by Jean de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who received the direction of a squadron fitted out by the Viceroy of Mexico for the discovery of a strait which was supposed to lead into the Atlantic ocean. Arriving between latitudes 48 and 49, he fell upon the great arm of the sea which separates "Quadra and Vancouver's Island" from the continent, and which now bears his name. This he thoroughly explored along its eastern course, and, having remained in it for twenty days, sailed again into the Pacific at its northern outlet in  $51^{\circ}$ , and then returned to Mexico. From the policy pursued by the Spanish Government of concealing everything that related to their American possessions, the existence of this strait was unknown to the rest of the world for a long time, and when its discoverer disclosed it to an English merchant some years afterward, it was derided as a fable.

In 1787 an Austrian vessel fell upon it and entered it to the distance of sixty miles, and as it corresponded in all its remarkable peculiarities with the one described by De Fuca nearly two hundred years before, justice was at once rendered to his memory by the bestowal on it of his name. From 1592 up to 1774,



the Spaniards occupied themselves principally in forming settlements upon the coast and in the interior of their northern possessions; but in the latter year another expedition was despatched under the charge of Juan Perez, which traversed the coast up to the 54th degree, down to forty minutes of which point the Russians had already extended their trading settlements. Proceeding south, Perez anchored in a spacious bay under  $49^{\circ}$ , which he named Port San Lorenzo, but which, on a subsequent visit by Captain Cook, received from that navigator its present name of Nootka Sound. After leaving Port San Lorenzo, Perez saw the Strait of Fuca in his southern course, but did not stop to examine it. In the following year another expedition, under Heceta, Bodega and Maurelle, examined the whole shore from  $40^{\circ}$  up to  $58^{\circ}$ , and the former, on his return voyage, while between  $46^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$ , noticed an opening in the land at  $46^{\circ} 16'$ , which appeared to be a harbor or the mouth of some river. He reported the fact, giving his opinion to that effect, and subsequent Spanish maps accordingly laid down a river there, which they called the San Roque.

We have now brought the Spanish discoveries down to 1775, to which time no other European nation had set foot upon the coasts between  $38^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ} 40'$ , neither had any ever reached a higher latitude than  $43^{\circ}$ .

In 1778, three years after this latter expedition, Captain Cook arrived in the North Pacific, and under  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  fell in with the port San Lorenzo of the Spaniards. This he named Nootka Sound, and ascribed the merit of its discovery to himself, in the face of numerous evidences that Europeans had been there before him, for he tells us in his own account that not only did the natives appear familiar with his ships, but he found among them articles of Spanish manufacture. Thus vanishes Cook from the shadowy list of English discoverers of the Coast of Oregon; for until the word discovery is born again and receives a new definition, it will hardly possess sufficient elasticity of application to stretch its qualities to two distinct visitations of the same spot, separated by a distance of three years; and unless its meaning is considerably enlarged, it will scarcely extend from the outside of an island twenty miles at sea to the body of the continent behind it.

Having disposed of the two main pillars of the English title,



we next come to the examination of the filling in, the flimsy material of which we shall find in keeping and correspondence with the unsubstantial quality of the first.

In doing this, we shall be obliged to extend the scope of our narrative somewhat, as well to correct certain gross misrepresentations which have been made to the injury of the Spanish title, as to afford a proper idea of the unworthy subterfuges which the desperate diplomacy of Britain has employed to effect the establishment of their own, in opposition to it. This course is necessary, moreover, to a correct understanding of the whole subject, as the circumstances to be related nearly kindled a general European war, and as they led to a treaty whose **claimed** concessions on the part of the English admits virtually the integrity of the title of Spain.

[Continued in next issue.]

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EDMOND S. MEANY

VOL. I No. 3

APRIL, 1907

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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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## HUGH WYNNE, A HISTORICAL NOVEL.

---

"I am an historian," said Niebuhr, "because I am able to construct a complete picture from the fragments that have been preserved." It is an interesting statement from one competent to speak as to the importance of the imaginative faculty in historical work. The novelist too must exercise imagination, and the possession of this common trait has led many a writer of fiction to tell the story of historical events. Undoubtedly in most cases the story is the object. With some, however, the main purpose, and in all at least a conscious desire is to draw a picture of genuine historical value. Professor Morse Stephens, in his paper on "History," in **Counsel Upon the Reading of Books**, has made a strong plea for the historical novel based upon the importance in historical study of this faculty of imagination. He claims that "the reading of historical novels is likely to lead to a less incorrect knowledge of the past than the reading of inaccurate histories." And one is not inclined to take exception, provided his requirement with regard to all historical reading is met, that "it is the first duty of every reader of such volumes to fix in his own mind as soon as possible the class to which the writer of the book perused belongs."

Inasmuch as they are confessedly fiction, it is perhaps unfair to subject historical novels to the canons of historical criticism. Certainly from the standpoint of the establishment of truth it would be a profitless task. As an essay in criticism, however, such a study may well prove of value. Where no authorities are cited, a long and careful investigation is required to determine either the facts in the case or the basis of the statement that is made. Questions of interpretation and of processes of construction are then presented, and finally a judgment upon the whole must be pronounced. When the author of **The**



**Rose of Old St. Louis**, in describing the dress of Gouverneur Morris, speaks of "his fine lace ruffles falling over his long white hands, and his immaculate stockings and pumps with their glittering buckles," and a contemporary states that Gouverneur Morris "has been unfortunate in losing one of his legs, and getting all the flesh taken off his right arm by a scald, when a youth," it is fairly obvious that the novelist's imagination had not been properly restrained by historical facts. Generally, however, the problems that arise are not so simple, and their solution demands something more than a mere knowledge of facts.

In the winter of 1901-02 the writer suggested to a class of advanced students in historical criticism at Stanford that a few weeks be spent upon the critical examination of some historical novel, attempting to make a practical application of the principles that had been studied. The suggestion was welcomed, and, largely because the material available was sufficiently extensive to promise profitable results, Dr. Weir Mitchell's **Hugh Wynne** was chosen as the subject of investigation. It was expected that no more would be accomplished than the reaching of some determination as to the extent, accuracy in statement, and use made of historical facts in the story; but not only were the results interesting in themselves, a genuine value also attaches to the insight that was obtained, through the courteous kindness of the author, into the construction of a successful historical novel.

After reading sufficient of the novel to get the general trend and purport of the story, all the available historical material was gathered, classified, and then divided among the various members of the class with instructions to attempt to verify or disprove, wherever possible in the first chapters, statements of historical facts or descriptions of the life and manners of the time. Very quickly a similarity was noticed between certain incidents and descriptions in **Hugh Wynne** and corresponding parts of Watson's **Annals of Philadelphia**. The number of these increased and the similarity was so striking that it was at first assumed that Watson's **Annals** was the source of information for most of the historical material embodied in the story of **Hugh Wynne**. Longer and more careful examination, however, necessitated a modification of such a hastily formed conclusion, and the following was the joint report of the class submitted upon the study of a little more than half the novel:

Sources of Information for the Writing of "Hugh Wynne."

- (a) 75-100 strikingly close resemblances between passages in **Hugh Wynne** and Watson's **Annals of Philadelphia**.  
A still greater number of instances of resemblances not so close, but yet possible that in these latter instances the novel is indebted to Watson.  
Some of the former resemblances are so striking that only two conclusions are possible: either (1) Dr. Mitchell drew from Watson, or (2) both borrowed from the same source.  
In other cases the differences indicate that Watson's statements were modified by reference to other sources, or that these other sources were used independently of Watson.
- (b) One of the most probable of such sources is Christopher Marshall's **Diary**. (Impossible to verify absolutely, as the Library possesses only the early [partial] edition of 1839.)
- (c) Another probable source of information is the **Pennsylvania Magazine of History**, notably the following articles:  
(1) Diaries and Journals of Hiltzheimer, McMichael, Montresor, Mrs. Henry Drinker, and Sally Wister.  
(2) Letters of Lee, Benjamin Marshall, Paine, Reeves, Rebecca Franks, and others.  
(3) Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-60.  
(4) Keith's Andrew Allen, Flanders' John Dickinson, and others.  
(5) Stone's Philadelphia Society 100 Years Ago, Baker's Camp by Schuylkill Falls, Exchange of Lee, and Itinerary of Washington.
- (d) Certain points are most reasonably explained by the use of the manuscripts and maps in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, referred to by Watson and Winsor. (One member of the class reported that Dr. Mitchell "undoubtedly" used these.)
- (e) Of later writers, several very striking resemblances to Fiske's **American Revolution** are noted.

When it was evident that tangible results were being obtained, the writer ventured to send a letter to Dr. Mitchell explaining what was being attempted and asking him if he were willing to answer the question whether he had not made quite extensive use of Watson's **Annals** in the writing of **Hugh Wynne**. His reply is the best commentary upon their report:

“Philadelphia, Pa.  
“Dictated Feb. 15, 1902.

“Dear Sir:

“I am very pleased to answer your letter of the 8th and to reply to your questions.

“I used Watson’s *Annals of Philadelphia*, but with great care, as the book is extremely unreliable. I made much more use of diaries of the times, as Miss Drinker’s, Christopher Marshall, Shoemaker, and others. I also read enormously for years, letters of the time published and unpublished, and books relating to the period, which of course are open to any one. One of the most valuable to me was Barker’s *Itinerary of Washington during the War*. Also I was much helped by the interesting letters (unpublished) of Col. Bradford, Dr. Rush, and Wilson.

“I ought to add that I was over seven years preparing myself to write this book. This may give your young students an idea of the care necessary to reach certain ends. Every important chapter, **save one**, in the book was rewritten three or four times. I leave the students to discover **which chapter**. It is perhaps the most important one & remains with scarcely an alteration.

“Yours truly,

“S. WEIR MITCHELL.”

On receiving a copy of the class report, Dr. Mitchell was sufficiently interested to write with his own hand in response:

“1524 Walnut Street,  
“Philadelphia.

“Dear Sir:—Even a too busy life & the late passing of my 73rd mile stone will not, or shall not deny me the pleasure of saying thro you a few words directly to the young men who have honoured my book with their critical attention.

“I desire to confess to the failure to say what by **most important** I meant—I should have said, that, what I regarded as the **best** chapter—had been left unchanged.

“I certainly did use Watson, but did not always trust him—as to mechanics—I found in the M. S. at the Phila. Lib’y M. S. additions to Watson—All the Diarys you mention, I used &—especially Baker’s *Itinerary*. Graydon’s *Memoirs* were of utmost value—&—Col. Bradford’s M. S. letters.

“As to Arnold—There are endless M. S. letters—He was a scoundrel—all thro—& a grand soldier—or fighter.

“I want to say a word as to Washington—I read all the lives—diaries—M.scripts, etc.—& then—somehow the great simple heroic figure took shape & I knew what he would say & do.

“As to historic fiction a word—The historic people should influence the fates of lesser characters—but never be the important persons of the story—They must be won—by some process such as I have described—If once in yr. possession and

charactered, you or they hesitate as to what they are to say or do—you will fail.

"What is called atmosphere: a sense of fitting & influentially valuable environment—is hard to define. To secure it for another time is to be done by immense study of manners customs, dress, diet, hours, amusements, politics, etc. While writing *H. W.* I used to amuse myself by visits to the Willings or Chews—or Cadwaladers & see the dresses—& table & talk with the people—etc. &—be sure I was in a company become familiar & easy—

"Mere archaic allusions will not answer—Indeed too constant effort at such methods of getting atmosphere, result in destroying interest & cause precisely the opposite of what the writer meant to attain—It is a common error—

"A word more—The historical autobiographic novel is rare—*Waverley* & a few more—It needs to acquire the invaluable, all seeing, 3rd person—I got it in *H. W.* by the novel device of the use of his friend Warner's diary—

"But you want History & this is all about fiction—Give finally my regards to these near & far distant young countrymen. I send you for them what lately I said in verse of Washington\*—

"To end—I have written a long letter—Tell them never to write long letters—

"Yrs truly,

"WEIR MITCHELL."

"5th April 1902."

In the meantime the members of the class had been at work attempting to solve the new problem that had been set them, of determining which chapter had not been rewritten. Perhaps Dr. Mitchell might not be pleased to learn that some of the class essayed the task by considering the errors that had been noted in various places, believing that the chapter which contained the greatest number of mistakes would probably be the one that had not been revised. He would have been quickly relieved, however, by the paucity of results. Others considered the question as one of style. But the majority attempted to determine which was the "most important" chapter in the book. It resolved itself then into a matter of opinion, and as usual in such cases there was much diversity. There were three chapters, however, which seemed to claim consideration above the others—the siege of Yorktown, Andre's execution, and the Quaker meeting—but no amount of argument could bring about an agreement upon any one of them. To settle the question, Dr. Mitchell was again appealed to,—this time by a member of the

\*"The Birthday of Washington," printed in *University of Pennsylvania Bulletin*, Feb., 1902.

class,—and apparently other questions were asked and particularly upon certain disputed points in the account of the battle of Germantown.

“20th April 1902.

“1524 Walnut Street,  
“Philadelphia.

“Dear Sir:

“My last and long letter to Prof. F. answers some of your queries. The chapter in question I was wrong to call ‘**most important.**’ It was to me the one I believed would be the most difficult. It is that in which H. W. visits Washington the night before Andre’s death. I wrote it easily & never materially altered it.

“As to the sources whence I drew the battle of Germantown—they were many—diaries, traditions—all the histories—lives, etc. I burned my notes, being cursed by accumulating M. S. & even had I them still, I could not answer you. I regard the Quaker meeting as the chapter to which I should have given the place as most **important.** As to this you are right. A good deal of the talk is taken in bits out of unpublished letters of Wetherill, Waln, etc.—of course I used Watson, but always cautiously. Pray let Prof. F. see this letter. I am much pleased by the intelligent interest my book has excited in the minds of my young fellow citizens.

“I read even more largely for Francois, and am told that it is the truest picture of the Paris of that day; a picture usually overcoloured as by Dickens.—

“Yrs truly,

“WEIR MITCHELL.

“James Cone, Esq.,

“My statement ought to have been—What chapter of importance was unaltered?”

The letters have been allowed to tell their own story for they reveal, better than any second-hand account could, many interesting things, some of which were quite unexpected. Though quite apart from the main purpose, the insight that was obtained into certain traits of the author—his interest, his kindness, his courtesy and patience—could not fail of recognition and appreciation by those for whom he took so much trouble. The time and care taken in preparation for the writing of **Hugh Wynne** will surprise all but the few who know, and should stand as an example to everyone attempting this form of writing. But the handling of the material after it has been gathered will ever remain the most difficult task, and Dr. Mitchell’s letter



in explanation of the methods he followed is as valuable as it is interesting. No stronger testimony to his success in this direction could be found than the oft-repeated complaint of every member of the class studying **Hugh Wynne** that the story was so interesting that all criticism was forgotten, and a second, even a third reading of many chapters failed to remove the difficulty.

When one knows of the long and careful study that preceded the writing of **Hugh Wynne**, one would not expect to find many historical inaccuracies in the novel, nor is this expectation disappointed. Here and there are slight discrepancies within the story itself, apparently due to a slip of memory or to some uncertainty as to the actual course of events. In the brief sketches of some of the characters attending the first session of the Continental Congress in 1774, names of men are included who were not present until a later day. But such quite excusable and perhaps intentional anachronisms are the most serious deviations from strictest exactitude. Yet all these give but fragments, and the picture remains to be completed. This Dr. Mitchell leaves entirely to the imagination of the reader. From the standpoint of the novelist it lends strength, from the standpoint of the historical student it is the story's greatest weakness. The imagination must construct the picture from the analogy of scenes with which it is already familiar, and in the case of the average reader this will differ widely from the reality. The story is not thereby affected, but the historical picture, through the fault of the reader rather than of the author, will prove decidedly untrue.

In the portrayal of historical characters, Dr. Mitchell has shown perhaps his strongest side. "Put yourself in his place" is the precept of the historian in such delineation as it is of the novelist. Human nature is the same in one generation as in another, and provided only he strictly guards the use of his imagination by all the facts ascertainable in the case, the novelist in his presentation of historical figures may well succeed where many an equally painstaking but less imaginative historian has failed. His letter of April 5th shows how carefully and with what sympathetic appreciation Dr. Mitchell prepared himself for this phase of his work, and one recognizes quickly the inception of that really daring attempt, "The Youth of Washington," which appeared in the *Century* a few years ago.

This phase of the story appealed especially to the writer, and in a final note he expressed his appreciation of this, and his

particular interest in the character of Wilson. Dr. Mitchell's reply may well serve as a close to this imperfect sketch of a study, which proved as profitable as it was interesting:

"No. 1524 Walnut Street,

"Philadelphia, Pa.

"April 28—1902.

"Dear Prof. Farrand.

"Your interests, and mine, have led us into what is an unusually lengthy correspondence.

"Many thanks for your note of April 21st, which gives me the opportunity to say a single word in relation to James Wilson. I was able to find very little about his younger life except that he was tutor in the Grammar School or what was then called the Academy of the University, but a good deal of light has been thrown upon his great services in connection with the Constitution in '87. There are many unused documents in the Historical Society which contribute large knowledge as to his legal character.

"As to the rest I did more guessing than I should have done if I had had the time for larger search.

"Yours truly

"WEIR MITCHELL."

MAX FARRAND.

## THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON.

---

God of the nations! Thou whose hand  
Led forth their best across the sea,  
To find in this unfettered land  
Thy largest gift—the soul set free.

Bless Thou the land Thy bounty gave,  
Thy feeble few are grown a host;  
From eastern sea to western wave,  
Blest be their homes from coast to coast.

Give them Thy peace, but if arrayed  
Once more against some evil power  
They draw again a righteous blade,  
Be with them in the battle hour.

As when upon the Cuban deep  
The thunder of our cannon spoke,  
And from sad centuries of sleep,  
The stately form of freedom woke.

Remembering him we praise today,  
Hushed is the mighty roar of trade.  
And, pausing on its ardent way,  
A nation's homage here is laid.

Where on the great Virginian's grave,  
Look down the new-born century's eyes,  
And by his loved Potomac wave  
In God's long rest, his soldier lies.

A hundred years have naught revealed  
To blot this manhood's record high  
"That blazoned duty's stainless shield  
And set a star in honor's sky."

<sup>1</sup> Read by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell on University Day at the University of Pennsylvania, February 22, 1902, and published in the Bulletins of that institution for February, 1902.

In self-approval firm, his life  
Serenely passed through darkest days;  
In calm or storm, in peace or strife,  
Unmoved by blame, unstirred by praise.

No warrior pride disturbed his peace,  
Nor place, nor gain. He loved his fields,  
His home, the chase, his land's increase,  
The simple life that nature yields.

And yet for us all man could give  
He gave, with that which never dies,  
The gift through which great nations live,  
The lifelong gift of sacrifice.

With true humility be learned  
The game of war, the art of rule;  
And calmly patient, slowly earned  
His competence in life's large school.

Well may we honor him who sought  
To live with one unfailing aim,  
And found at last, unasked, unbought,  
In duty's path, the jewel, fame!

Ay! Keep your laurels green for him,  
And that great memory proudly guard,  
Lest time's mere repetition dim  
A grateful nation's high award!

Thus, mindful of a faithful past,  
We arm us for our present need,  
Lest factious storms his harvest blast,  
And freedom, overgrown, exceed;

For that dark race our arms set free  
Waits justice from our timid sway,  
And those far islands of the sea  
In freedom's school must win their way.

Ay! We are lords of many lands  
And soon or late may sadly learn

That history with impartial hands  
Will give us only what we earn.

Oh, teach us to not lightly hold  
The freeman's right himself to rule,  
And not from sloth, and not from gold,  
To be the civic despot's fool:

For He who girded us with power,  
And gave us strength to do the right,  
Will ask us, in His own stern hour,  
"How have ye used the gift of might?"

Since, till this harried earth shall gain  
The heaven of Thy peace, O Lord!  
Freedom and Law will need to reign  
Beneath the shadow of the sword.

O, Thou, who bade us seek and find,  
Teach us to seek with humble art  
Through laws of the Eternal Mind  
The wisdom of the Eternal Heart:

Lo! Science on her soaring wing  
To heights we dream not now, shall move,  
Until her broad horizons bring  
Thy larger morn of boundless Love.

Thus from the childhood of the soul  
We grow toward manhood's stature still,  
To see at last the years unroll  
The Gospel of the Master's will.

**Hail! Gracious Mother!** Thou whose youth  
Sent forth a brood of sturdy men  
Who stood for freedom and for truth,  
And used the sword to free the pen.

Still ever in thy learned walls  
The will, the wish, the vigor live!  
Ay ready, if our country calls,  
To meet what fate may duty give.



Almighty Father! Bless that home  
Of youthful hopes and honest strife;  
Wherever these Thy children roam  
Be Thou their stay in death and life.

That when with years they bring us here  
The simple tale of service done,  
Or victories to a nation dear,  
Or triumphs peaceful lives have won.

Here shall the mother, at whose knee  
They heard the words that guide and guard,  
Glad of her children, proudly see  
In noble lives, her best reward.

S. WEIR MITCHELL.

## COOK'S PLACE IN NORTHWEST HISTORY.\*

---

One year ago the Pacific Northwest celebrated by an exposition the centennial of the expedition of Lewis and Clark. In the Northwest the spirit for celebrating is of recent date, yet that alone is not sufficient for the selection of Lewis and Clark as the objects of celebration. In 1878 the Northwest was no doubt still too young, and the date too near the origin of the World's Fair idea to celebrate the centennial of Cook's voyage; in 1885 they were too much excited by recent railroad development to be interested in the centennial of the coming of the first trading vessel to the Coast; and in 1892 Washington was too new a state and Idaho too new a territory for Old Oregon to attract the world's or even the local attention from the Chicago Fair to the centennial of Vancouver. Yet one year after the World's Fair at St. Louis, the Northwest celebrated in honor of Lewis and Clark. The greater part of the reason for the celebration of this event must be sought in the East.

The celebrators were pioneers and sons of pioneers from the Eastern States, imbued with the feelings of America and proud of the national heroes, especially those heroes who touched their adopted homes. Lewis and Clark were heroes; their published "Travels" were scattered broadcast over the country—an incentive to the dreams of pioneer youth, and a solace to those who were building the Old Northwest or trailing the Wilderness Road. Those men and women who followed the Oregon trail and laid the basis of the life in the new Northwest were dominatingly from those states along the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers; the second generation of those states which had been peopled by the economic effects of the war of 1812—that westward movement over the Alleghany mountains, accelerated by the "Travels" of Lewis and Clark appearing in the year that saw the end of the war. In such an energetic westward-moving age, Lewis and Clark—the first Americans to cross the continent—easily became heroes. But behind this Charinism lies the fact that McKenzie had crossed the same continent at its greater breadth some thirteen years before; and that for more than forty years the trappers and traders were pushing up the Missouri;

\*Prepared for the Portland meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 30 November and 1 December, 1906.

and sixty years had passed since the Rockies themselves had been sighted. The names given by Lewis and Clark have practically all passed away; their scientific knowledge still stands a monument in the development of the new country—but their popularity hardly rests on these. Of greater importance is their effect on the trade movement of the time. Their preparation accelerated the activity of the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal and led it later to the Coast; their return set in motion Astor and his Pacific Fur Company, and led, by water and land, to the first American settlement on the Coast. In both these cases Lewis and Clark only accelerated already existing movements; the Northwest Company had originated and expanded westward out of rivalry to the Hudson Bay Company; Astor's overland fur trading was but the culmination of the old French movement up the Missouri River. The westward movement and spirit of the Louisiana purchase in the days of Lewis and Clark; the westward movement, the opening of the ginseng and fur trade with China, and the beginning of the whale fishing after the second war with England gave the social canvas on which the deeds of Lewis and Clark were painted in glowing colors. Aside from the romantic popularity they had tangible effects in trade, in both Canada and America. The romantic popularity brought no settlers to Oregon; the Americans who did visit by water or by land came for fur. The tangible effect of the expedition was fur in some of its forms.

Yet here again Lewis and Clark are neither originators or culminators: Cook begins and the Hudson Bay Company ends.

The foregoing has already hinted at the part played by fur in the Northwest lands. It is Cook's place in it that is the problem of this paper.

The term "Northwest" on the Pacific meant among the traders in the earliest day the coast from Nootka and the Columbia northward to the Russian settlements; later it became synonymous with the Oregon Territory—the coast between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ} 40'$ ; with the settlement of the Oregon question the term "Pacific Northwest" designated the American portion, while the Canadians projected their term to the Alaskan border. In Cook's day these distinctions were not made, so in this paper close lines have not been drawn, yet the American side for the most part has been followed. The Northwest, then, at first was international trading-ground; it was divided between England and America and divided again into states; it was the source of ware

for trade in China; its frontage and its source of trade on the Pacific binds it in vital relations to this great ocean; and through the trade and politics of the various nations thereon, the Northwest assumes the dignity of a position in the world history. In these various relations—states, the Northwest, the United States, the Pacific and the world—Cook assumes his relations and his place.

It is in his last voyage that Captain Cook touches the Northwest—the last of those voyages which began as a result of the spirit of the early eighteenth century wars. To know the world beyond Europe, which France was losing and England was gaining, and in which all Europe began to be interested, Cook, as an Englishman of his day, commenced his voyages around the world. He opened to the eyes of the Western world the waters and the lands of the South Sea and hunted for the Northwest Passage sought by his countryman Drake two centuries before him. From the Hawaiian Islands he sailed in his last voyage for the New Albion of Drake, bearing instructions to survey its coasts from  $45^{\circ}$  to  $65^{\circ}$  and discover the western entrance of the Northwest Passage. He sighted land on the present Oregon coast, and left the names Foulweather, Perpetua and Gregory on the capes before him; setting to sea, he sighted land again, slightly south of a point which he named Cape Flattery. To sea again, he touched land not many miles further north at a sound to which he gave an English designation, but later retained the Indian name of Nootka. Here he remained nearly a month studying the land, the flora, and fauna; the Indians in their different aspects, and traded with them for furs. He passed northward, touching here and there, naming points, islands and bays, taking latitude and longitude, meeting with the Indians and securing furs from them. He looked for designated Spanish points and further north found traces of the Russians. He left the coast for Hawaii, where he lost his life; his fleet, under the command of Lieutenant King, proceeded to the Asiatic coast, touching, among other places, Kamtschatka and Canton. At the former place they learned of the Russian interest in furs, and at the latter they learned the value of these furs in China and the possible great profit accruing from direct trade between the Northwest and the Middle Kingdom. Within one year after the publication of the "Voyage 'Round the World" the first trader appeared on the Coast from Macao, and a company had been formed in England for this recommended trade.

The results of the voyage are threefold—scientific, nautical and the discovery of the fur; the effects also are threefold—the fur trade, the Chinook jargon, and the political questions arising out of the trade. By scientific result is meant the knowledge gained of geography, the climate, the flora, the fauna; the Indians, their language, their religion, and customs. By nautical is meant that practical knowledge of use to the navigator. The questions of fur, fur trade, the jargon, and the political relations are in themselves explicative. In applying these results and effects to the Northwest history and its various relations an approximate estimate of the place of Cook's voyage may be ascertained.

As to science: Through the knowledge of the geography, Indians, the flora and fauna in Nootka Sound, he touched the early Oregon Territory, and only indirectly the American Northwest through the similarity of these matters in contiguous lands. This was the first published knowledge of this kind regarding this locality and still stands as the beginning of the uncovering of a new land and people. In the relationship of the Northwest to the Pacific and the world he holds a much more important position, in closing the long problem of the segregation of the American and Asiatic continents. Columbus, until his last voyage, felt that he had touched Asiatic islands; de Leon searched for the Fountain of Youth and Coronado for the Cities of Cibola, both pictured by Mandeville in Southwestern Asia. Magellan, Drake and Gila separated the southern ends of these continents and projected their union far to the northward. The legendary Straits of Anian of the sixteenth century were finally proven by Behring in the eighteenth. Cook then closed the problem in giving the distances between the continents, and the vastness of the Pacific. He closes the problem which Columbus began.

As to navigation: Cook's observations of longitude and latitude were the most accurate up to his day. The chronometer was not yet a decade old when he introduced it into the Pacific; and thereby his observations of longitude were especially accurate. His survey of the Coast where sighted, of Nootka and Prince William Sounds and Cook's Inlet were of such accuracy as to be of great practical use to the navigators piloting the fur traders in the succeeding decades; and Nootka Sound in fact became from the first the rendezvous and general port on the Northwest Coast until at the end of the controversy with Spain



it was superceeded by the Columbia River. The names of Foul-weather, Perpetua and Flattery are permanent on the maps of Oregon and Washington—the first permanent names given by Europeans. In the relation of the Northwest to the Pacific and to the world he gave it its relative position on the ocean, and by the publication of his "Voyage" made it easy of access so soon as occasion should demand its visitation. In all these questions of navigation, Cook left nothing of permanence except three names on the Oregon and Washington coasts. His surveys were later superceeded and enlarged. His place here is that of the pioneer explorer.

Regarding the fur question, it is necessary to consider its dual nature of location and trade. By his trade and that of his sailors, Cook secured commercial evidence of the fur-bearing animals' presence on the whole Coast from Nootka northward; by this same means and by his intercourse with the Indians he learned of the different kinds of fur animals. The fox and the sea-otter, the bear and the marten, the wolf and the hare, he mentions most frequently. Geographically this is within the Old Oregon Territory; and historico-geographically it is also within the American Pacific Northwest. It is at Kamtschatka and Canton, however, where the remainder of this work is done. At these places Cook's men learned the value of the furs they had secured out of curiosity and had used as rugs on deck and as covering in their cabins. For these half wornout furs such great prices were paid, as it seemed to them, that a mutiny was with difficulty avoided preventing their return to the American coast in order to make their fortunes. In Canton they received less than in Kamtschatka for furs to be used by the Chinese in the North China trade; the Russians being nearer this trade could offer more for the reason that they were also nearer the Kurile and Aleutian Islands where they found in decreasing number the sea-otter which the Chinese held in high esteem. Moreover, in the words of Lieutenant King, these highly-prized sea-otter "are exactly the same we met with at Nootka Sound, which have already been fully described, and where they are in great plenty." At the close, King recommended fur trade directly between America and China, and gave many suggestions as to its conduct. On the basis of these facts and suggestions the first trading vessel in the Northwest waters made its appearance within one year of the publication of the "Voyage 'Round the World"; and a company was formed in England to carry on the trade.

Cook, however, was not the first to learn of the fur animals in America or to trade in furs with China. This honor belongs to the Russians. Some of the sailors of Behring's last voyage learned of the presence of the animals in America and their value in China; in fact, two years before the arrival of Cook a trade was already in existence in the islands and on the coast of America. Yet the Russian fur trade from Siberia to China reaches back to the very beginning of the century. Again, the presence of these Russians in the northern waters was known to Cook; and their discovery of furs in these waters was known to the world by the publication of Behring's voyages in German, English and French, twenty years before Cook began his voyage. In this regard Cook's part is not in the first discovery of the fur and the possible trade, but in making it generally known to the Western world; and in directing trade immediately between America and China, instead of, as with the Russians, the coast trade along the northern islands and lands. Russia held this as a national possession; Cook gave it to the world and opened the trade to the nations.

Again, Cook's high place is endangered by the Hudson Bay Company in its westward movement overland; accelerated by the results of the Seven Years' War, and by the activity of the Northwest Company beginning the year of the publication of the "Voyage." Russians had already found the fur; it was but a question of time until the Canadians, and even the trappers on the Missouri, would have found what Cook found. His place, then, is not an indispensable one; his importance is in the internationality given to his knowledge; and the readiness of Europe and America to begin this trade places him at its starting point.

The discovery of fur and the possibility of its trade brought the United States first into contact with the Northwest. Ginseng was too scarce in America to sustain a trade with China; aside from it the Americans had nothing within the Chinese demand. The Northwest now opened a new field. The coming of Kendrick and Gray, and the discovery of the Columbia, and the later coming of Astor's Pacific Fur Company and the founding of Astoria laid the basis of the political questions down to the settlement of the San Juan Controversy. For China, Cook's voyage opened a whole eastern broadside against her isolation. The Russian fur trade since the days of the Nertschinsk treaty and the English trade since the inheritance of India had now been increased by the renewed activity of the English and the addition of the

Americans. With this trade begins the opening of the Northern Pacific. The Russians had coasted its northern shores and islands and in due course would, no doubt, have made it another Baltic; until the coming of Cook in his three voyages, Spain dominated the South Sea excepting where the Dutch dominated in the East Indies. Following Cook's last voyage came English, Americans, French, Dutch-Austrians, and the renewed entrance of Spanish and Russians. Moreover, into this new center of trade, opened by Cook to the world to meet the world's demand for furs, Cook's voyage incited the western movement of the Hudson Bay Company, the early growth of the Northwest Company and its more rapid progress to the Coast, and also the free trappers via the Missouri. In this latter movement into the Northwest via the Missouri Lewis and Clark find their place at a later day. Cook, then, was not the first discoverer; his place is that of the opener of the Northwest, and with the world's readiness to enter, the beginner of its real history.

Out of the trade on the Coast grew the Chinook jargon; its first steps are noted at Nootka, but its real growth and development are seen at the new trade center on the Columbia. Its prime service was in the barter between the Indians and the whites, but later it became and continues still an intertribal language. Cook took no part either in its origin or its development; but does touch it indirectly in directing to the Northwest Coast those traders by sea who did give it origin, and the Canadians by land who developed it.

Into political relations it is through the fur trade that the Northwest enters. Fur brought the English traders and through them arose the political interests on the Coast. The presence of these traders roused the Spanish to tardy action to hold in check the English and also the Russians further north. The clash occurred at Nootka and the Northwest was hurled into the world history; for this clash was heard as far as the Falkland Islands and the National Assembly of the French Revolution. It was fur that brought Gray to the Columbia and Astor to Astoria and helped in the creation of the Lewis and Clark expedition; and on these America based her relations with Spain and her half-century struggle with England over Oregon. In this struggle for the Northwest, Cook occupies no indispensable place even indirectly. The Russians were there and moving southward before his arrival, and it was their presence which primarily brought Perez to the north—a clash was inevitable. The Eng-

lish-Canadian fur companies were moving westward along the line of Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, while the Americans were ascending the Missouri Valley. Both these movements would overlap on the still undefined border between Canada and the Louisiana Purchase, while west of the Rockies the river systems would bring them into conflict between the Fraser and the Columbia; and each of these in turn with the Russian and Spanish interests to the north and south respectively—again, inevitably clashes. Again in another sense the tendencies were already in existence for a clash in the Northwest some time, whether through fur trade or through slower expansion. Since Columbus' day seven European powers had struggled over the possession of America, north and south; from the Line of Demarcation to the end of the so-called Colonial Wars this conflict had been too intense for us to feel that the Northwest could have escaped this international warfare. These clashes were inevitable; they did come through the fur trade—and Cook's place in them is that he occasioned this fur trade.

In the relation of the Northwest to China and the long train of consequent political events for the latter, we note the same part played by the fur trade—and there again Cook enters.

In the political relations of the Northwest to the Pacific it is the fur trade of the former that makes the unknown sea an international ocean. Until the days of Cook the South Sea had been for the most part a Spanish sea between her possessions in the Americas and the Eastern Islands; but with the opening of the fur trade it merges into the internationality of the northern waters to the extent that within a generation even the name "South Sea" is lost in the greater Pacific. Up to this time what international interest in the Pacific did exist had been centered on its Asiatic shore—the East Indies and China; it is the Northwest that makes it international, and centers the first international interest and conflict on its American shores—and here again Cook's place is seen.

In the political relations of the Northwest to the world it is the fur trade again that bears the burden. It is the Northwest which makes the Pacific a part of the great European international Atlantic; and when the Northwest and its fur trade had played their part other interests succeeded to make the Pacific the new Atlantic and to reduce the Atlantic to the position of a new Mediterranean. Europe is now bounded on the west by the Pacific Coast; the shortest and quickest way between



Europe and Asia is now via the Pacific, and the old sixteenth century problem of cutting the Isthmian canal has resolved itself into a question of giving the Atlantic Ocean an outlet into the Pacific. The Northwest is a link in this long chain of events reaching from the international Mediterranean of the fifteenth century to the international Pacific of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and Cook's place is again seen. In one other aspect the Northwest plays a world part. From time immemorial to the days of Cook the borderland between Europe and Asia has been on the east Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, and later along the variable political and cultural lines between Russia and Asia. With the entrance of the Northwest fur trade Europe began to see Asia on her west; and as this fur trade culminated in the opening of Japan, Asia began to see Europe in the east. A new border between the two arose in the Pacific; politically it is now on the Asiatic side, in the Territories and Spheres of Influence of the European nations; culturally it is on both shores—in the Boxer movement on the one side and the Asiatic Exclusion Movement on the other. In the development of this new Europe-Asia border the Northwest played its part—and Cook's place is again evident.

In taking a general view of Cook one notes that in the Northwest he leaves the first permanent names and selects the port for the early traders; that he is the scientific pioneer, the harbinger of the fur animal and the inciter of the fur trade. Because of the fur trade in itself and its resultant interests in politics and culture, his highest place is in discovering the fur in the Northwest, and making it generally known at a time when the world was ready to receive it. Here he occupies a vivid and distinct place in many respects, in the economic and political history of the Northwest; in China and the East; in the great political disturbances over Nootka, Oregon and the San Juan Islands; in making the Pacific into an international ocean and the new Mediterranean Sea; and lastly in the creation of the antipodal borderland between Europe and Asia. Cook's place is not an indispensable one—in the sense of the indispensibility of the preaching of St. Paul, the crowning of Charlemagne, and the Norman Conquest. The tendencies and movements were already actively directed toward accomplishing in some way or other what he accomplished. His place is somewhat like that of Columbus for the New World; he actively opened the Northwest to the world and bid the nations enter.

J. N. BOWMAN.



## TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INDIANS.

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During the Indian war of 1855-56 it became necessary for Governor Stevens to communicate with certain parties living on Shoalwater Bay. There was at that time no mail or express, or any other regular means of communication between Olympia and any place on either Gray's Harbor or Shoalwater Bay. The Governor got his letter ready and asked me if I would undertake to carry it to the parties addressed on Shoalwater Bay. I was, at that time, quite a young man, on duty at the Executive Office in connection with the Indian war then in progress, and I agreed to carry the letter.

The Governor then instructed me to proceed to the residence of Judge S. S. Ford on the Chehalis River and there hire an Indian and canoe and proceed down the Chehalis River to some proper place near its confluence with Gray's Harbor. There I was instructed to tie up the canoe and proceed on foot, under the guidance of the Indian, to Shoalwater Bay.

I left Olympia on horseback and reached Ford's the same evening, where I explained to the Judge the nature of my business.

Next morning Judge Ford went with me to the Chehalis Indian encampment, near by, and made a bargain with an Indian for the service of himself and canoe on the proposed trip. The Judge very wisely explained to the Indians the nature of the mission, which was simply that of messenger, carrying a letter to be delivered to the parties addressed on Shoalwater Bay.

Here it should be mentioned that there was at that time a large encampment of Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians on Gray's Harbor, and that they had purchased from a sailing vessel which had recently been there a large amount of whisky. The presence on Gray's Harbor of these Indians from the North was not known at that time to either Judge Ford or the Indian encampment on the Upper Chehalis. It is also proper here to mention that although the Indian war was still progressing, the Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians had not thus far manifested any open hostility.

The service of an Indian and Canoe being secured, I started down the Chehalis River. Arriving at tide water on Gray's Harbor, we tied up our canoe and proceeded on foot along the beach. We had not gone far, however, until we struck an Indian encampment of Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians, who promptly seized me as a prisoner, informing me that I and my guide must stay with them until they could hear from their chief, who was encamped some distance further down the Harbor. Accordingly a runner was started off to the principal camp, who, after some two hours absence, returned with orders to bring me and my guide to the main camp. On arrival there I witnessed a fearful scene of drunkenness, a large amount of whisky in buckets, jugs and other vessels, and several drunken Indians lying around the camp. There were, however, a number of sober Indian men, who seemed to be on duty, and a large, middle-aged Indian woman, who appeared to be in command of the camp. I inquired for the Chief and was informed by the men that he was absent (perhaps drunk). They also informed me that the woman was now chief and that I must make my explanations to her.

"Yes," said she, speaking in a loud, commanding tone, "I am the one to whom you must give an account of yourself. And now I want to know on what errand of evil and mischief to my people you have come here?"

To which I replied that my visit had nothing whatever to do with her people or with any Indians whatever; that I was simply the bearer of a letter to a gentleman living on Shoalwater Bay, and that was all. Thereupon I took the letter out of my pocket and showed it to her. She then spoke to the Chehalis Indian, the guide, and asked him what he knew about the object or business of my visit. Then the Chehalis Indian promptly replied, confirming what I had said, and stating fully what Judge Ford had told him before starting down the river.

Then the woman chief ordered the other Indians off to a distance, out of hearing, and then spoke to me as follows:

"I believe what you and your guide say and that you are entirely innocent of any wrongful design against my people. But my tribe, before you reached this lower camp, came to a different conclusion. In other words, they have condemned you to death, and I have no power to change that determination. All I can do is to assist you to escape, which I am willing to do, and I believe you can get safely out of this scrape if you will follow my advice. My people have determined that you can

go no further on your journey to Shoalwater Bay; that you must start back to go up the Chehalis River, and the place where you are to be killed is at the first Indian camp which you reached and passed in coming here. Now you and your guide must pretend to start back, but you must not go as far as the next camp. About half way to that camp you must turn short off to the right through the timber and keep on in that direction, and you will soon strike a trail leading towards Shoalwater Bay. You must take that trail, and you must then **run**, don't walk, but **run** day and night until you get entirely out of danger. And now," said she, "here is some fresh cooked sturgeon which you can help yourself to, and you had better sit right down and eat all you can, for you will need all the food you can swallow."

My guide and I, after having partaken of the fish, then started back, but, following the directions of the woman chief, we did not go over seven miles until we turned off to the right and struck out through the timber. Proceeding in a southerly direction we soon struck the trail she mentioned. Then we started on the **run**, and kept on **running** all that day and nearly all night before reaching the waters of Shoalwater Bay.

Having now arrived at the end of my journey, I lost no time in delivering the letter of which I was the bearer to the party addressed. Having done so, I deemed it unsafe to return immediately to Olympia. So I concluded to remain where I was until the Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians had left Gray's Harbor on their return north. Fortunately I did not have to wait more than ten days until news came of the departure of those Indians for their northern home. Then my guide and I started back at once, and in due time arrived safely in Olympia.

QUINCY A. BROOKS.

## THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL AS A MISSIONARY AND PIONEER CHURCH.\*

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The Episcopal Church is sometimes spoken of jocosely and derisively by those of other religious denominations as being an urban affair, unsuited to early settlements, to primitive times and conditions, and to successful undertaking in the field of the missionary.

Such terms as "kid gloved," "silk stockinged," and "hot house," are applied to its ministers, congregations and efforts. However it may have been elsewhere, this humor, on the part of our religious co-workers of the other denominations, has never been applicable to the Episcopal Church in the State of Washington. Here it has been the Pioneer Church, dividing honors with but few, and leading among the few.

The first real or substantial missionary work in the State of Washington goes to the credit of our church. Though Jason Lee, for the Methodists, preached a couple of times at Fort Vancouver in 1834, and Samuel Parker, for the American Board of Commissioners, held services there in 1835, it was left for the Church of England to firmly plant the cross there in 1836. The sovereignty of this country was then in dispute between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. Except a few Hudson Bay Company people there were no white men here then, and there were no white women whatever unless half Indian women are so considered. That year an ex-chaplain of the British Army, Rev. Herbert Beaver, who had been doing service in the West Indies, was sent on the *Nereid*, a sailing vessel, to the Columbia River. It arrived in midsummer (1836) at Fort Vancouver. The salary of Mr. Beaver was £200 per annum. Six weeks or two months after his arrival the Rev. Messrs. Whitman and Spalding came overland, and about the end of the year located missions east of the Cascade Mountains. As they started from the States months after Mr. Beaver started from England, and arrived at their destination months after he arrived, and they were the first three clergymen to locate in what is now Washington, it follows that to Mr. Beaver and to those he represented belong the credit of leading in the work of God in this part of the American Union. So also to Mrs. Jane Beaver attaches the distinction of being the first white

\* Paper read by Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch at the monthly meeting of the Women's Auxiliary of St. Mark's Church, Monday, April 8th, 1907.

woman to become a resident of this State. Mr. Beaver at once took up the work he came to do. Before this time men and women had been living together without form of marriage. He opposed this custom, though it required courage on his part, as the higher officers were offenders equally with their subordinates. He succeeded, however, and soon the old custom was reversed. The first marriage service in the State was performed by Mr. Beaver in January, 1837, when James Douglas and Nellie Connolly were joined. Douglas was second officer in the company, and in a few years became the first, later being knighted by Queen Victoria, and appointed Governor of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Dr. John McLoughlin, the head of the company here at that time, being actually both Governor and Government, was also married, but, for a personal reason, not by Beaver. Though Mr. Beaver rendered himself somewhat obnoxious to the Hudson Bay Company employes by his assumption and officiousness, there can be no question that he did good missionary work, this matter of marriages alone being worth to the world all the cost of time, money and effort involved in his coming. He conducted religious services regularly, buried the dead in due form, baptized many persons, and received into the church a number of communicants. In 1838 he and Mrs. Beaver returned to England.

All forms of Protestantism in Washington, as represented by ministers, missions and churches, were destroyed or suspended in the troubles with the Indians of 1847-48; the whole field being left to the Roman Catholics for five years. Among the immigrants of 1847—the year, I may say, that my own mother came to Oregon—was the Rev. S. M. Tackler, sent by the Protestant Episcopal Church as a missionary. He stayed, and, though not a very capable laborer, did what he could to establish the Church of Christ in the country south of the Columbia River.

In the summer of 1852 the Diocese of New York took notice of the absence of ministers and churches in the country north of the Columbia. At that time there was not one Protestant clergyman or organization in all the land included now in our State. To John McCarty, D. D., was secured the office of Army Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, he arriving from the Atlantic at his post of duty in January, 1853. The matter of priority in the resumption of church work in this State is a question between the Episcopalians and the Methodists, all other Protestant denominations being after them. It is said that two good Metho-



dist brothers—Roberts and Wilbur—came over to Olympia near the end of 1852 to determine whether or not the Puget Sound field was populous and great enough for the employment of a missionary. They held a service in a saloon on Main Street, calling the people to it by firing a cannon. They concluded a minister was needed, and about Christmas the Rev. Benjamin F. Close was sent. His first meeting was held in the schoolhouse December 26th. The little congregation had barely left before the roof fell in under the weight of a heavy fall of snow.

Dr. McCarty attended to his official duties at Fort Vancouver faithfully, and in addition served the citizens of the town, visited Puget Sound, and aided in the starting of St. John's Church at Olympia. For a time he was Chaplain at Fort Steilacoom, in 1855-56. Upon his return to Vancouver he interested himself in the town church, which was consecrated on Whit Sunday of 1860 by Bishop Scott, Dr. McCarty and one of the new clergymen recently arrived from the East, Rev. Peter E. Hyland. Scott was the first Bishop, dating back to 1854, who found upon arrival that Messrs. Tackler and McCarty were the only two ministers in his jurisdiction. As all ministers should be, Messrs. Scott, McCarty and Hyland were married, their wives being lovely women, who helped in the work little if any less than their husbands.

And so in the early 60's the church was represented by St. Luke's at Vancouver, by St. John's at Olympia, and for a short time by an Army Chaplain at Fort Steilacoom, Rev. Daniel Kendig. Major Hugh A. Goldsborough, as lay reader, conducted the services at Olympia, and at intervals other lay readers succeeded him. In 1865 Mr. Hyland resigned the charge of Trinity Church in Portland and assumed the Puget Sound Parish, with home and church at Olympia. St. John's, it may be said, was the third church in Olympia, not considering the Roman Catholics, who had abandoned their mission and church, and for a score of years were unrepresented at the Territorial Capital. The other predecessors of the Episcopalians were the Methodists and Presbyterians. Bishop Scott and Mr. Hyland consecrated St. John's Church on the 3rd of September, 1865. It stood on the west side of Main Street between Sixth and Seventh. In somewhat altered appearance it still stands, being now devoted to the purposes of trade; a new building, larger and better adapted to the needs of the congregation, having succeeded it.

That year, 1865, was a busy and eventful one for Mr. Hyland. He had to acquaint himself with the people and their wants from one end of Puget Sound to the other. To do this he traveled by sailboat, canoe, horse, and occasionally steamer, traveled on foot, slept in the wood or on the beach, went hungry frequently, and generally roughed it in a manner that would appal the easier-going, pleasure-loving citizen of today. He had to introduce himself, hunt for places of meeting, call out his congregations, and not only put encouragement into others, but overcome the discouragements that at times came upon him in numbers and strength all but overpowering.

In 1860 John F. Damon, then a newspaper publisher at Port Townsend, with religious inclinations, began to conduct services there as lay reader. This little start resulted in St. Paul's, the first church in Port Townsend. The building was completed in 1865. Dr. Thomas T. Minor for many years, in the absence of a regular clergyman, held the congregation together, reading to the people, while Mrs. W. H. Taylor sang, and Mrs. O. F. Gerrish helped greatly in other directions. Mr. Hyland not only aided them in their earlier work, but in 1871 moved to Port Townsend and took personal charge of the field there and nearby.

During the same year (1865) Mr. Hyland visited Seattle, and in August conducted services according to the Protestant Episcopal form in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He interested Mr. Hiram Burnett, who organized a Sunday School, read the service, and who was confirmed by Bishop Scott the following year, he being the first person here to receive that rite. Mr. Burnett found a number of good women willing and eager to help in the work, including Mrs. C. C. Terry, Mrs. J. N. Draper, Mrs. M. R. Maddocks, and Mrs. Taylor, mentioned before as helping at Port Townsend. The five hundred people in the town already had Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant organizations, and there was scant room for a third. "Sociables," Christmas trees and entertainments supplemented the religious work, and with the growth of the town to one of a thousand inhabitants there was finally found room for Trinity Church. The first minister, Rev. Itas F. Roberts, necessarily had to resort to other means than preaching for securing a living, as the congregation in the latter 60's was too small and poor to maintain him. That he succeeded admirably is well known, as he bought two lots on the southeast corner

of Fourth and Madison, and there erected a dwelling, a house that still stands, after nearly forty years of use, one of the oldest in the city of Seattle. These lots are worth today \$200,000, and have been sold during the past year at well nigh that figure. Mr. Roberts was succeeded by Rev. R. W. Summers, in 1870-71, under whose direction the first church was built on the northwest corner of Third Avenue and Jefferson Street, with rectory. It would be pleasant to go on with the history of Trinity and tell of the works of Messrs. Bonnell and Watson, Mrs. Kellogg, Mrs. Robbins, Mrs. Calhoun, Mrs. Leary, Mrs. Hemenway, Mrs. Slorah, the Hydes, the Thorn-ton, the Bagleys, the Paulsons, and others, but I must not, as my paper is already drawn out to a length greater than at first contemplated.

The next church after those named was St. Peter's, at Tacoma. In the summer of 1873 the Northern Pacific Company located there its terminus. Bishop Morris at once visited the place. Securing a lot by gift from E. S. Smith, and calling to his aid Rev. Charles R. Bonnell, the church was put up in August, a generous Philadelphian, named Houston, contributing the money required for the building. This was the first church in Tacoma. It still stands on Starr Street near Twenty-ninth, its doors open to welcome citizens and strangers, believer and unbeliever, alike. St. Peter's has done much work for the Master, and its usefulness is by no means lessened by its age. It has long been one of the most cherished objects in our neighbor city. Owing to circumstances beyond the foresight of its builders the location was not in later years what it was in the beginning anticipated, and other churches have been built in more favored localities that have outstripped St. Peter's in the race. One of these was St. Luke's, which was the fifth Episcopal Church built on Puget Sound, Tacoma being the first town to have more than one of our churches, and for that matter the first town to have more than one church of any denomination.

By 1880 the churches in what is now the Missionary District of Olympia numbered seven, including the six heretofore named, and St. Andrew's, at Kalama. The communicants were about two hundred; Trinity of Seattle, with eighty, being the strongest of the seven. To us here it has been pleasant to have the home church in the lead, well supported, ably manned, and, doing as it has done, the best work, not only among the people

of our own city, but for and among the needy ones of other parts of the world.

From the statements here presented it will be seen that our church has not lagged in Washington. It was the first of all to make a fixed, determined effort, in 1836, as said, at Vancouver. Among the towns of the earlier days it was the first at Port Townsend and Tacoma, the third at Seattle and fourth at Olympia. Even more favorable contrasts could be made in some cases, but they might be considered invidious and are omitted. These statements are presented only for the purpose of showing that the railery alluded to in the beginning—that our church was not fitted for pioneer work, that it could live and thrive only in cities, and that it was the child of wealth and luxury and not of labor and poverty—was not well founded. We know that the Protestant Episcopal Church is not lacking in any of the elements requisite for success in any quarter, and that in our own State the measure of its accomplishments is very large.

To one who has lived in the country all the years since the re-establishment of the church at Vancouver, who has been identified with it since childhood, who has known all the persons named herein, and who has had more or less cognizance of every step in its progress to the present time—its houses of worship, schools, hospitals, grounds, societies, and, above all, its vast increase in membership, running up now into the thousands—the wonderful advance made and the high standing attained, are gratifying indeed. Particularly has this progress been cause for rejoicing since the advent of St. Mark's in 1889. This church—our own beloved church—has more communicants now than all the Episcopal churches in the Territory of Washington had at the time of the setting off of our parish from Trinity. The latter—the mother church—has grown, too, and can now claim thirteen daughters and grand-daughters in the County of King alone—fourteen Protestant Episcopal Churches in and around the City of Seattle. There are but few places in the United States where in this respect so great a showing can be made as here.

It should be borne in mind, however, that we live in a great country, among great people, where great deeds are common, and where a great church must live, thrive, grow and work.

MRS. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

## A VAST NEGLECTED FIELD FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH.\*

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The territory roughly included in the area known as "The Great Plains," "The Plateau Region," and "The Barren Lands,"—which forms such a vast portion of the North American Continent,—in my opinion, offers an extensive field for co-operative archaeological research, since its prehistoric ethnology is practically unknown.

Its historic ethnology has recently received attention at the hands of energetic, trained anthropologists. Its prehistoric ethnology, or archaeology, however, has been neglected, possibly because modern ethnological problems in that area have held the attention of visiting anthropologists, or perhaps for the reason that, on all that vast area, comparatively little literature or other material was available. Few archaeological sites are known, and literature on the whole subject is scant, even clues to sites being of rare occurrence in papers on other subjects. Archaeological specimens from the region in question, both in museums and in private hands, are not numerous; and those that do exist show a narrow range of forms, and, with few exceptions, have little or no individuality. All these facts have no doubt contributed to the causes of this deplorable neglect. A further reason was probably the supposition that the region was uninhabited until comparatively recent times; that it was an area where only a few finds could be expected as a reward for the persevering toil of the investigator; and that such finds would be of only a few types, of crude technique, and of a low order of art.

Some archaeological work, however, has been done in this area, notably in Wyoming, but by anthropologists chiefly interested in problems relating to the ethnology of the present peoples.

The scarcity of archaeological specimens from this vast area, and the dearth of literature on the whole subject, may be due to the fact that until recently no one fitted to collect or to write

\*Prepared for the Boas Anniversary Volume, American Museum of Natural History, New York.



has visited the region, it having been occupied by white people only lately, and not even visited by them until comparatively recent times. It must also be remembered that the lumbermen, cattlemen, miners, and railroad men, who have made up a large percentage of the white people who have been in the territory, belong to a shifting population, not given to the examination, much less to the preservation, of archaeological objects; while until very recently the number of farmers and settlers has been small. These stable people, having homes, possess means of caring for such specimens as appear to them interesting. Had they been in the region for a longer time, or even in greater numbers, we might have had more data upon which to work.

On the other hand, the scarcity of archaeological material may be due to the comparatively recent occupation of the area by Indians, or to a sparse population, if not to both of these causes. It is quite possible that the Plains were not thickly populated before the introduction of the horse, the acquisition of which, no doubt, gave a great impetus to migration throughout the entire Plains area.

The area, more particularly but roughly defined, includes the western half of the Dakotas, all of Nebraska, the western third of Kansas, Oklahoma, a wide strip north and south through Texas, all of Colorado except a small portion in the southern part of the State, Utah with the exception of a small area in the southeastern part, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and the vast adjacent portion of the British possessions. It includes, among great natural divisions, the upper valley of the Missouri, that of the Platte, the Upper Arkansas, the Great Basin, the Upper Columbia Valley, the Yukon Valley except near the mouth, the Mackenzie Basin, and the area draining into Hudson Bay. Linguistically the area embraces all of the territory inhabited by the peoples of the Kiowan and Kitunahan stocks, and the greater part of the areas inhabited by those of the Siouan, Shoshonean, Caddoan, Athapascan, and Algonquian stocks. The Siouan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan areas correspond to that part of the region regarding which we are in perhaps the greatest need of archaeological data.

This whole area separates, or is in part bounded by, the Pueblo and cliff-dwelling culture-area, that of the Mississippi Valley, that of California, and those of the North Pacific coast and the plateaus of Washington and southern British Columbia as now outlined. An exploration of it would probably exactly

define the limits of these culture-areas and the presence or absence of an intermediate culture area or areas.

It must be remembered that pottery of certain well-known kinds is one of the great characteristics or marks of individuality of the Pueblo area and of the prehistoric culture of the Mississippi Valley and forest area to the northeast, while, on the other hand, no ancient pottery is known from the California area or the Northwest coast. Both of these latter regions are so well known, that the absence of pottery, or at least its great scarcity, is determined; but its presence in the wide northern area of the interior of British America is possible. It is true that pottery has been found in Alaska which closely resembles that from the adjacent portion of Siberia. The art of making it may have come from Siberia; so that it does not necessarily lead us to expect to find pottery in the Upper Yukon, the Mackenzie Basin, or, in general, in the Canadian Northwest.

In 1904 I called the attention of the Anthropological Club of Harvard University to the need of archaeological investigation in the area lying between the plateau region of southern British Columbia and the cliff-dwelling and Pueblo region of the Southwest, pointing out at the same time the absence of pottery in the former area, its great development in the latter, and the interest which we have in defining the line separating the region where pottery was made from that where it was not made.

The need of archaeological work in this vast territory is felt by students of historic ethnology. As has already been mentioned, they have started well in working up the area, and they would certainly be interested in the prehistoric relations of their problems. The length of time the various parts of the area have been inhabited, the history of every culture that has developed there, the modification of such cultures as may have been brought into the territory, their causes, and the migrations into and round about over the area,—all these may be mentioned among the problems to be solved.

It is true that in this region we may hardly expect to find archaeological material comparable to that found in the Southwest, Mexico, and Peru, especially the kind that would appeal to architects, artists, travellers, and students of modern history. But, however entertaining it might be to contribute to these interests, it must be borne in mind that archaeological work is not done solely to meet the needs of those interested in

these subjects; it is the professional duty of the archaeologist to reconstruct prehistoric ethnology even in fields that are held to be barren or largely so, and negative results are helpful in arriving at a knowledge of the prehistoric ethnology of the whole of our continent.

Judging from what we know, however, we may expect to solve a number of problems by working over this area. It would seem advisable to conduct this archaeological work in co-operation with students who are investigating living tribes; for a study of the modern Indian of a certain spot throws light on the archaeology of the region, and an understanding of the antiquities of a given place is helpful in the study of its natives. Furthermore, by this system, the continuity of historical problems is met by a continuity of method.

In selecting successive fields of operation, it would seem best to continue explorations in an adjacent area, sufficiently distant from those already examined to present new conditions and give promise that new facts may be discovered, possibly a new culture-area. At the same time a new field of operations should be so near, that no unknown culture-area may intervene. Thus the limits of culture-areas may be determined and new areas be discovered. This method of continuing from past fields of exploration makes valuable the experience gained there in each successive field, while the discoveries in every new region may always lead to a better understanding of the areas previously explored. If the results obtained in an area are not yet printed, the light thrown upon them by later work is at once available for the original publication.

In accord with this plan, it would seem best that those explorers who are familiar with the Pueblo and cliff-dwelling region should examine the adjacent part of this vast area, especially in Kansas, where remains of Pueblos are known to exist, and in the basins which drain into the Colorado and the Rio Grande. To define the limits of Pueblo culture would certainly be of interest to them, while at the same time their exploration in the adjacent country would add to the data needed by their co-workers.

In like manner the anthropologists of California are no doubt nearly as familiar with the prehistoric ethnology of Nevada as are those interested in the Pueblo region. Probably they will be more interested in it; and from their active investigation of the cultures of the prehistoric inhabitants of their State, who depended so much upon that natural product, the

acorn, we are led to look to them for the examination of the region between California and the great Canon of the Colorado. It would seem best that those who have explored in the Lower Columbia Valley and the plateau region of Washington and Southern British Columbia should push their investigations eastward through the area drained by the Columbia and the Snake, thus attempting to define the eastern limits of the Plateau culture, to bound it, and to further our knowledge of it. Again, the explorers of the Mississippi Valley are perhaps best fitted to investigate the western limits of the culture found there. Some of these individuals are already interested in the prehistoric migrations of the Mandan, who are thought to have taken a northwesterly course from the Mississippi to the Missouri. The Historical Society of North Dakota has begun an investigation of the antiquities of its own State. Therefore archaeological investigations in North Dakota may probably be largely left to that society. The Historical Society of Nebraska has expressed a desire to advance archaeological research in its State, and possibly it may be able to explore even more than that part of the field.

From another standpoint, the ethnologists interested in the historic Indians might take up prehistoric ethnological work,—students of the Siouan groups in the Siouan area, those of the Shoshonean group in the Shoshonean area, and students of the Athapascan group in the Athapascan area. By following this line of investigation, the work of just these men would clarify the problems of the whole situation.

HARLAN I. SMITH.

## PREHISTORIC SPOKANE—AN INDIAN LEGEND.

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The original manuscript of this legend, recorded by Major R. D. Gwydir, formerly United States Indian Agent of the Colville Reservation, is in the possession of Mrs. Caroline L. Hathaway, of the Spokane Public Library. It was copied and forwarded by Will J. Trimble, one of the editors of this Quarterly.—[Editor.]

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Yes, some of the traditions of the Indians go back in the past far beyond the discovery of this country by the white race.

As for the truthfulness of their narratives I can only vouch for the veracity of the old Indian chief who related them to me.

Whis-tel-po-sum (Lot), chief of one of the three Spokane tribes of Indians, one of the best and most truthful Indians that I have ever met with, gave me, amongst others, a traditional history of Spokane and the country surrounding it, which, as well as I can remember, was as follows:

Centuries ago, long before the paleface was known on this continent, where Spokane is now situated and for many days' travel east of it, was an immense and beautiful lake, with many islands resting on its surface. The country swarmed with game and the lake abounded with fish—veritably a hunter's paradise. Many well-populated villages lay along the shores of the lake.

One summer morning the entire population were startled by the rumbling and shaking of the earth. The waters of the lake began raising, and pitching, and tossed into mountainous waves, which threatened to engulf the entire country. To add to the horrors of the situation, the sun became obscured by an eclipse, and darkness added its horrors to the scene.

The terror-stricken inhabitants fled to the hills for safety. The shaking of the earth continued for two days, when a rain of ashes began to fall, and so heavy was the fall of them that there was little difference between day and night. The fall of ashes continued for several weeks. The game abandoned the country, the waters of the lake receded and dry land filled its



place, and desolation spread over the entire country. The Indians died by thousands from starvation. The remnant who escaped starvation followed the course of the receding waters until they arrived at the Falls (now Spokane).

Their first village was located in the neighborhood of where the Galland-Burke brewery now stands. The bay north of Bridge Avenue and between Post and Monroe Streets was their swimming or bathing pool.

The tradition further states that the devil, in the form of a coyote, gave them a great deal of trouble, but finally they snared him and all the Indians were in at the killing, after which they divided the carcass among the people of the different tribes. After this prosperity smiled upon them and continued to do so until the coming of the palefaced race, whom they could not snare, and who proved the worst devil of the two, for he left them nothing—their present condition.

R. D. GWYDIR.

## DOCUMENTS.

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It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare journals, diaries, letters or other documents throwing light upon the history of the Northwest. Effort will be made to reproduce such papers faithfully, errors and all, so that every student and reader may have them at face value.

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### Diary of an Emigrant of 1845.

Some two years ago Levi Howell wrote from Marshall Junction, Washington, saying that his father had come to the Oregon country in 1845 and kept a daily diary of the trip. If the Washington University State Historical Society cared for it he would have his sister make a copy of the diary. This was done, and the sister—Mary Howell Finegan—says she made a true copy, “the only changes made being a few in the spelling and capital letters.”

In transmitting the manuscript Levi Howell gives this brief sketch of his father:

“John Ewing Howell was a native of West Virginia, born in 1806. Spent twenty years in the salt works of Kanawha, going from there to Missouri a few years before starting to Oregon. The little book from which these copies are made was carried by the author from Oregon to Eastern Ohio and then to Clark County, Missouri, where the author died just forty years after the time of starting.”

Continuing, the son explains as follows:

“The journal includes nothing of the return trip, but extended general remarks on the country passed through and also Oregon Territory, now Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The marginal figures refer to distances traveled westward from Camp Oregon, in Jackson County, Missouri. These daily distances were estimated until some well known point was reached whose distance was known. Then new estimates for the continued trip. Oregon City is the terminus just six months from starting. My father helped to build the second house in Portland. He claims to have suggested the name. Portland, Iowa,

furnished the name and vanished from the map. The building in Portland, Oregon, was of hewed square logs bolted together and intended to be used for a warehouse. The starting point was five miles north of Luray, Missouri, and twenty-five miles west of Keokuk, Iowa."

Levi Howell's present address is Luray, Missouri. His father's diary, thus brought to light, will prove of interest and value to all who love the history of the Far West.—[Editor.]

Left John Thompson's, Clark Co., Mo., April 11th, 1845, Friday, in company with B. F. Briggs. Destined for Oregon Territory, one wagon, 3 yoke of oxen, 1 horse. Camp at B. Dies Scotland City.

12, Sat. Camp at Myers Same Co.

13, Sun. Camp at Fork Salt River.

14, Monday. Camp at Jones on Chariton Adair Co. Warm & dry.

15, Tues. Crossed Chariton. Camped at Judge Ringoes on Mussle Fork.

16, Wed. Camp at R. Morris' on Yellow Creek.

17, Thurs. Camped at R. Wilson's.

18, Friday. Camp 4 miles west Locust.

19, Sat. Camp on the west bluff of Grand River.

20, Sunday. Camped on the E. bluff of West Grand River.

21, Monday. Camped 2 miles N of Shoal Creek Caldwell Co.

22, Tues. Camped 2 miles E. of Crooked River line of Caldwell and Clinton Cty.

23, Wed. Camp Clay City near Fishing.

24, Fri. Crossed Missouri R and camped between Independence and R.

26, Sat. Camp at Camp Oregon, Jackson City on waters of Blue.

27, 28, 29, 30, May First, Stationary.

2, Crossed Blue, Camp at Spanish Camp West of the State of Mo.

3, 4, 5. Stationary.

6, Tues. Camp in prairie by a grove. Mi.  
8—8

7, Wed. Camp at Elm Grove which consists of one elm with all the limbs trimmed off. 7—15

8, Thurs. Camp on Post Oak Creek by the side of a grove, Kansas R. waters. 18—33

9, Fri. Crossed Wappaloosa R. West side, beautiful country. 10—43

10, Sat. Tra. Camp on prairie. 16—59

11, Sun. Camp on a creek, Kansas waters Camp wood & good water. 17—76

- 12, Monday. Crossed Kansas River Camp on N. side, R. 400 yds in width Sand bars and sandy banks. Milky water, beautiful country, rather scarce of timber. 4—80
- 13, Tues. Camp on Indian Creek Wood plenty. Creek banks steep and miry—bad camp ground. 3—83
- 14, Wed. held a confused meeting and adjourned abruptly to meet at 8 o'clock next day. It was reported that Indians were driving off cattle.
- 15, Thurs. Met at the hour appointed and after some confusion succeeded in electing officers. Stephen H. Lettuk Pilot. Dr. Welch, Capt. Mr. Sawyer first Lieut. Dr. Carter 2d Lieut. H. P. Lock 3d Lieut. Left at 3 o'clock p. m. and traveled 4 mi. Water scarce. 4—89
- 16, Friday. Camp on Turkey Cr. on Little Soldier. 10—99
- 17, Sat. Camp on Owl Creek. 12—111
- 18, Sund. Crossed Vermilion, a large creek. Camp near a grove, hard rain this morning. the emigra(nts) gave Indians two lame oxen which they butchered and fought over the carcasses, using clubs, Bows, arrows &c. The Caw Nation Sund eve Pilot to a Miss Emigrant. 10—121
- 19, Mon. A meeting was called by the Capt for the purpose of collecting the pilot's money and make some divisions in company. An election was held for Treasurer which resulted in election of James Ramage. T. Stephens elected 2d Lieut in place of Dr. Carter resigned Divided company in three Divisions first division traveled 4 miles and camped on a small creek. Good camp ground. 4—125
- 20, Tues. Second division went ahead 1st and 3d stationary.
- 21, Wednesday crossed several small creeks, which afford wood and water, met 7 wagons from Ft Laramie, Camp at Spring wood inconvenient. 20—145
- 22, Thurs. Crossed Big Vermillion and Bee Creek and camp on the latter. A number of trees peeled at former with many names inscribed which shows the delays of former emigrations. 12—157
- 23 Friday. Camp west of Blue on a small creek Blue 70 yds, wide hard rain. 6—163
- 24, Sat. Met Col. Carmy with dragoons on an exploring expedition. Camp on a ravine to the right of the road. Plenty of wood and water. held court to try some offenders for deserting post and officers for misdemeanor in their official capacity. Maxon prosecuting attorney. 15—178
- 25, Sund. Traveled through tolerably level prairie and camped near a ravine. 10—188

- 26, Monday Trav. storm during night which the cattle to break coral and crush fire wagon in their flight. 13—201
- 27, Tues. Spent repairing damages. 18—219
- 28, Wednesday Tr. crossed L & Big Sandies and camped on latter. Big Sandy is a tolerably large creek but dry in moderately dry weather, has low rounded banks. 20—238
- 29, Thursday. Tr. Crossed several small creeks some of which afford wood and camped (on) the Republican Fork of Kansas. 17—255
- 30, Friday. Tr. up river leaving it once a few miles on the left. Camp on a ravine near the main stream. Scattering timber on the largest waters. 18—273
- 31, Saturday. Tr. up R and camp on point. 2 Horses lost. June.
- 1, Sund. Travelled. Camped on a small stream, wood scarce, hard rain. 15—288
- 2, Monday. Tr. over level prairie until within 4 miles of L. Platte where it broken. Camp on P. R. Antelopes &c in abundance. 20—308
- 3, Tues. Tr. held a confused meeting to reconcile some dissenters of the third division which resulted in greater confusion. Camp on Platte. 14—322
- 4, Wed. Tr. up R. passed a large hunting party of the Pawnee Indians. Camp on R. 18—340
- 5, Thurs. Tr. Crossed a small slough or ravine and camped. 18—358
- 6, Friday. Tr. up R and camped. 16—374
- 7, Sat. Tr. camp on Platte. I went out into the bluffs hunting. I was surprised to (find) the country so extremely broken with perpendicular sand pillows, low gaps and deep pits which present an awful appearance. This is the general character of the Platte country on the south side until 20 miles above the forks and much higher on the N side. Cedars are scattered through those bluffs and some other kinds of timber. Platte bottoms are wide and beautiful but generally poor and sandy, the river very wide perhaps 2 miles and very shallow with a sandy bed and low banks and muddy water. 16—390
- 8, Sunday. Crossed several dry creeks and camped one mile west of Ash Creek. About 10 o’P. M. there was an alarm of Indians. All hands were paraded. The alarm was false though there was some reason to believe they had attacked a detachment of the Emigration. 15—405
- 9, Monday. Tr. hard rain. Platte bluffs sloping and some rock visible. 7—412



10, Tues. Tr. left bottom across bluffs good road but neither wood nor water camped on bottom—good grass—wood.

15—427

11, Wednesday Trav. across bluffs camped on the river Willows and water plenty, 3 buffaloes slain.

8—435

12, Thursday. Stationary, held a meeting, resulted in confusion. 2 members expelled.

13, Friday. More quarreling and expelled members left and 2 others with them went in advance of the company.

14, Saturday. Travelled. Wood scarce, grass and water plenty. Wells were dug for cool water about 2 feet deep.

10—445

15, Sund. Tr. Camped at the crossing of South Fork. The country through which we have travelled varies considerably from the line of Jackson County to Kansas River. It is beautiful but there is a great lack of timber. Creek of clear water Kansas are generally good, also the bottoms between Kansas and Platte Rivers the country is more broken and rocky with a great number of small creeks which generally afford camp wood in abundance but is generally too destitute of timber to ever become settled to any extent. Those remarks hold good to the Republican fork or near it where the timber is scarcer and the face of the country more level near Platte bluffs. Platte differs very much from the Kansas the river as far as the forks is so wide that it is impossible to form any correct estimate of its width without actual measurement perhaps 2 miles wide. The South fork up to the ford will perhaps fall short of one mile. The river is full as large as high as the forks, from there up they are generally smaller and not so numerous. the river is full of sand bars and a sandy bottom in the whole distance with low banks not generally more than 4 feet high and often falling short of that height. It receives no accession of water except in time or a short time after heavy rains. The bottoms are beautiful to the eye with a sandy soil and short grass as high up as the Junction of the two main branches and some distance above there is some willows and cotton wood of a dwarfed kind; from thence up there is no timber except the willows and that is scarce and small. The bluffs are broken on both sides to the greatest extreme for some distance above the forks on the S. side. It then suddenly changes and on the North side about 100 miles higher up becomes more level. In the most upland there is considerable cedar some ash and shrubby roses and—But all are concealed from the eye by the numerous columns of sand unless nearly approached. The upper part of the South fork presents, in many places, of

small extent a white surface destitute of vegetation caused by salt in an impure state. There is many kinds of wild game in this region. Buffalo, antelopes wolves in great numbers deer and elk are not plenty prairie dogs are in great numbers and live in towns underground. From where Oregon trail first strikes Platte to where we leave the south Fork is about 160 miles and I think that there is no place in the whole distance where timber enough could be got on ten miles square to fence ten acres.

14—459

16, Monday. Tr. up R short distance and crossed and camped on N side where the road crosses the highlands for the N Fork.

11—470

17, Tues. Tr. Left the south fork and crossed over to the N Fork. tolerable level until near the N Fork where it is more broken and rocky, and some cedar and ash timber on a dry branch which the road follows down.

20—490

18, Wednesday Tr. up North Fork, high rocky bluffs and some cedar at a distance from the road in bluffs Camped on R, no wood cloudy and very cool weather the last three days.

15—505

19, Thurs. Tr. up Platte. Oxen runaway and broke 2 wagons. Several teams run away without doing any damage. Camp on River near a dry branch very little wood. N Platte is about size of S Platte and resembles it very much. Water some clearer. The country more sandy and the bottoms narrower.

5—510

20, Fri. Tr. up R & crossed a brisk running creek of clear water. Camped on bottom—no wood—good grass.

20—530

21, Sat. Tr. up R and camped near the Chimney. This (is) a singular mass of chalky Clay resting on the summit is about 20 ft in diameter and 100 ft high. The name is applicable.

19—549

22, Sunday. Tr. up R and camped near Scotts Bluffs which presents various appearances resembling dilapidated buildings. The whole viewed together has the appearance of a stupendous city in ruins with broken walls & their height are about 5 or 6 ft I stood on one of those points and plainly saw the Chimney 30 or 40 miles away to the East and the Black Hills 50 or 60 to the West. There is some cedar, pines &c in those bluffs and the pine on the Black Hills gives them a dark appearance when viewed at a distance. From this the name is derived. They show themselves far above the contiguous lands. The peculiarities of this country is its sterility, its extensive level plains. Large dry basins without outlets—Large tract extremely broken The soil is a chalky sand or sand some spots producing no vegetation at all but generally a very short grass

- slightly mixed with weeds and the best produces only a tolerable quality. 15—564
- 23, Monday. Tr. camped near the mouth of Horse Creek—wood—grass—water. 25—589
- 24, Tues. Tr. crossed bluffs—camped on R—wood—water—grass. 16—605
- 25, Wednesday Stationary.
- 26, Thursday. Travelled up R crossed plain and camp on River. 12—617
- 27, Friday. Tr up River—passed Ft. Laramie & ft Platte near the junction of Laramie and Platte rivers. Crossed Laramie R. 7—624  
12—636
- 28, Sat. Tr. camped on River 12—636
- 29, Sund. Tr. through hills, bluffs rough roads. Camped at Big springs wood and water but no grass for three miles. 9—645
- 30, Monday. Tr. through hills and camped on Bitter Cottonwood Creek good water good grass and good wood of the kind indicated by the name of the creek. Compared with this part of the country is well timbered. 12—657
- July 1, Tues. Tr. crossed divide between B Cottonwood Cr. and Horse Shoe Cr. through pine hills. The main range of Black Hills on the left hand rough and rocky road. The highest peaks of the Black Hills are justly entitled to name of Mts. Camped on Horse Shoe Creek fine spring—wood—water and grass. 16—673
- 2, Wednesday. Tr. through hills. Crossed 2 small creeks which afford wood and some grass, no water at this season. Camped on Box Elder Creek 2 miles below ford,—the most difficult road since we left the States. Passed the high peak of B. Hills or Laramie Mt. 20—693
- 3, Thurs. Tr through hills and hollows red hills, and bald and rocky hills and high hills and camped on Box Elder the 4th good water and grass. Range of hills continue on south. 16—709
- 4, Friday. Tr. over tolerably rough road. Crossed Box Elder the 5th and struck Platte at the bend. Camped on P. 2 miles above. High hills continue on the South. 14—723
- 5, Stationary.
- 6, Sunday. Travelled up Platte and camped on the R. drove across the river for grass. 13—736
- 7, Monday. Stationary.
- 8, Tues. Trav. high hills continue on South. Camped on Platte 3 miles from ford. Good grass on an island. 10—746
- 9, Wednesday. Trav. Crossed Platte R and crossed high hills and camped on Bitter Water or Stinking Creek. No wood—poor water—poor grass. Red Buttes in full view. 15—761

10, Thurs. Trav. over hills and camped in hills. Some good grass, good water, cooking wood. 16—777

11, Friday. Trav. on plains and hills and camped on a creek, grass and water. Bald hills in every direction. 17—794

12, Saturday Trav. nooned Independence Rock. This is a singular mass of rock situated on the bank of Sweet Water, surrounded by a wide bottom. Five miles higher up Sweet Water is what is called the Devil's Gate in honor of his Satanic Majesty. A great curiosity. S. Water passes through a rocky mountain. The opening is about 100 ft wide with perpendicular walls on each side 200 or 300 ft high. the R is full of large loose rock in those narrows and has a great fall. There is another gap through this ridge where wagons pass on good roads and high sandy plains that terminate further south. Camp on S. Water 3 miles above Devil's Gate Good grass—no wood. 16—810

13 Sund. Trav. up R. camp on R between Rocky hills, south side the mountains are slightly timbered with pines. The north they are nearly all rock with here and there a pine or cedar shrub. Grass scarce. Shrubs on river and drift-wood. 14—824

14, Monday. Trav. up Sweet water and camped on R. Good grass high hills and numerous valleys or gaps some of which are quite extensive. 5—829

15, Tues. Trav. up Sweet Water and crossed three and passed through detached rocky ridges surrounded by plains. Camped (on) Sweet Water to the left of the road by the side of a large mass of rock. Company re-divided 12 wagons fell to our share. 12—841

16, Wednesday. Trav. cross plains & crossed Sweet Water. Camp. Some grass—no wood. 18—859

17, Thurs. Trav. cross hill & plain. Crossed Sweet Water twice. Camp on R. Shrubs and grass. 8—867

18, Friday Trav. hilly circuitous and rocky road. Crossed N Fork of Sweet Water and camp on small branch of Sweet Water in sight of the snow peaks of Wind River Mt. on the North. Shrub wood, tolerable grass. 18—885

19, Sat. Trav. Crossed Sweet Water and crossed divide between the two great Oceans. This pass as it is called is an undulating plain of considerable extent and the Mts. are elevated but little above the plain except on the N. E. they are higher and partially covered with snow during the year. Camp on Water grass branch a flush running little stream running south and is a branch of the Colorado that empties into the Gulf of California. It affords more grass than any stream of its size in this part of the country. The plains

- are extremely poor Sandy or Rocky producing sage only which is the principal production of the plains from the commencement of the Black Hills. 18—903
- 20, Sunday. Trav. Cross plain. Good road except sand. Camp on Little Sandy to the right of the road. A flush running little R making its way to the South. Shrubbery and grass. 19—922
- 21, Monday. Trav. Crossed Little Sandy thence down. Camp on Big Sandy above the ford. Good grass, some timber. 12—934
- 22, Tuesday. Trav. Crossed Big Sandy. 70 or 80 yds wide. Sandy bed with low banks. Camp on Sandy no camp between. Scattering wood. 16—950
- 23, Wednesday. Trav. Crossed Green River. Water channel 100 yds wide swift smooth current, gravelly and rocky bed. Clear water 3 ft deep at the ford. Course from N to S Timbered with cottonwood along the banks. grass good in places Camp 3 miles below ford. 12—962
- 24, Thursday. Stationary.
- 25, Friday. Trav. Crossed hills and plains. Sandy road. Camp on Black Fork. grass and shrubbery. No camp between. 16—978
- 26, Saturday. Trav. Crossed hills and crossed Ham's and Black's Ford. Camp on Black Ford. Poor grass—wood. 16—994
- 27, Sunday. Trav. Crossed Black Ford 4 times. passed low rocky hills that I cannot describe. Camp on Black Ford 1 mile below Bridgers and Vasques fort good grass and wood. 16—1010
- 28, Monday. Trav. over some steep hills, crossed a small creek 8 miles from Fort, but little grass, no wood bad water. Camp on a small creek poor grass, bad water, shrubs. 18—1028
- 29, Tues. Trav. up same creek poor grass all the way over the hills Camp on creek. grass a little better. 12—1040
- 30, Wed. Trav 14 miles up creek to the head. good grass all the way, high hills, bad roads. Crossed divide between Black Fork and Bear R. 6 miles. Camp at a spring. Some grass and sage-wood. This divide and the country bordering is diversified with various colors: Red, green, yellow &c and all intermediate hues. Some very good soil. Some small cottonwood groves of a dwarfish kind. Some pines and cedars. This place has some pretentions to romantic beauty. 20—1060
- 31, Thurs. Trav. down creek and down Bear River and camp on Bear river at a large spring. Bear River at this place is about 50 yds wide and winds very much across its bottoms which are very wide. The direction of its valley at this place is a little East of North descending surrounded with high hills. 10—1070



Aug. 1, Fri. Travelled down Bear River and camped 2 miles above the mouth of Smith's Fork—good camping. For the last 15 mi shrub wood. 16—1086

2, Saturday. Travelled down Bear River. Crossed Smith's Fork, a clear and beautiful and rapid stream from the Northern mountains. The bottoms from this place are narrower. The gates are a few miles below, the river turns more westward and runs that direction for 10 miles then turns short again and continues that direction 10 miles further where we camped, then turns nearly the contrary direction for five miles then turns again to the South west and passes through a gorge in the mountains where wagons cannot pass. A few miles below this gorge the river connects with Bear Lake. On the south side here is cotton-wood timber but a small grove. The soil on bottoms I think is of good quality but dry. The hills are high and generally rocky, most of the rock have the appearance of being burnt, resembling old furnace walls, they are of different kinds. Mostly new to me. 20—1106

3, Sunday. Trav down R  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. foot of mountain 6 miles, top of first bench 7 miles, thence to cottonwood grove on B River 7 miles 14 in all rear of Bear lake rough road. Cross the Mountain. 14—1120

4, Monday. Trav. down Bear River valley and camped in the plain at a good spring on the left of the road. Passed extensive bottoms or low plains and crossed several flush running small streams of pure water. The hills or Mts. have considerable timber either pine or cedar. the soil appears to be good generally but lacks rain. 14—1134

5, Tuesday. Trav. down Bear River Valley. Crossed several running branches and springs and camped at Soda Springs near Bear River. There is a cedar grove at those springs on Bear River bottom and pine plenty on Mts. near at hand. The soda springs are a curiosity but I was very much disappointed from reports. there is considerable gas rises at this place through the earth that gives the water a peculiar flavor but rather disagreeable than otherwise. Volcanic rock is abundant contiguous to those springs. Soil not good. 28—1162

6, Wednesday. Trav. 3 miles down Bear River and 4 through plains. Crossed several small streams and passed several good springs and some soda springs. This plain is about 30 miles in length and from 5 to 10 wide. Volcanic rocks are strewn in every direction. Some places scattered and other places presenting massive black and craggy walls. They must resemble the walls and cinders down below. 24—1186

- 7, Thursday. Trav. up creek and cross Mountains which divides Bear R waters from Lewis R and camped on the waters of the latter after passing groves of small cottonwood and pine and high mountains nearly or quite bald and some quite green and beautiful with some places covered with snow. plenty of good springs and running water. 18—1204
- 8, Friday. Trav. cross sandy plains and camped in Lewis R bottom at a spring 5 mi East of Ft. Hall. 18—1222
- 9, Saturday. Trav. down river passed Ft. Hall and camped on a creek 4 miles west of Ft. About this fort there is a tolerable plain bordering on Lewis R and a large bottom surrounded with lofty and snowy mountains in almost every direction. 9—1231
- 10, Sunday. Trav. down valley and camped on Portneuf River. 7—7
- 11, Monday. Trav. down valley crossed Portneuf R & creek west. Camp on L River 200 yards wide. At camp deep and gentle current. clear water. 14—21
- 12, Tues. Trav. down R crossed some road generally bad. Camp on a creek that I called Fall creek. passed the American Falls of Lewis R which are thirty-five or forty feet in a few yds—on the N. side where the greatest portion of the water passes. On the south side the descent is more gradual but there is several perpendicular falls of 8 or 10 feet. A great number of large rock are scattered in those falls. Below the great falls there is a succession of falls of less note. 18—39
- 13, Wednesday. Trav. camped on a creek where the Oregon and California roads part. Good grass. 9—48
- 14, Thursday. Trav. cross dry and rocky plain of the volcanic kind without water. Camp on Goose Creek Marsh. 15—63
- 15, Friday. Trav. down Goose Creek and dry plain. Camp on L river Coarse grass and willows.
- 16, Saturday. Trav. Crossed Goose Creek No 2. Crossed dry and rocky plain Camp on a dry branch. Poor camp bad water. 23—98
- 17, Sunday. Trav cross plain dry as powder. Camp on Rock Creek good camp and good water. 10—108
- 18, Monday. Trav. part down River and cross plain. Camp on L. R. bluff drove cattle to the river. one mile high bluffs. bad camp. 20—128
- 19, Tues. Trav. cross arid and barren plain. Camp at bend of L River at the mouth of a small creek. Warm springs. bad camp. 13—141
- 20, Wednesday. Trav. down river crossed Falls or Little Salmon River. Camp at the Salmon Falls. poor camp. For the last 75 miles Lewis R is bound up with dark and volcanic walls to a tremendous height. The

plains are strewn in every direction with volcanic rock. The river is a succession of falls from the great falls to the Salmon Falls. The Salmon falls are the greatest falls except that the falls in the descent is more gradual being 60 or 70 feet in a mile at the termination. The River makes a great bend to the N. or N. West above the Salmon falls for 20 or 30 miles. A great number of powerful springs breaks out on the north bank of River. one that spreads its white sheet 2 or 3 hundred yards wide up and down the river. Some fall 3 or 4 hundred feet, dashing their foaming torrents headlong over the craggy walls below.

10—151

21, Thursday. Trav. crossed bare plain. Camp on bluff of L River one mile from water and three from grass, dry grass at that. high bluff.

13—164

22, Friday. Trav. cross plain some dry grass, no water. Camp on L River at the mouth of a dry creek. Some grass.

12—176

23, Saturday. Trav. cross bluff. Crossed Lewis River about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile wide, average depth  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Brisk current 2 islands in the ford. Camp on dry branch 3 miles from ford. Good grass shrub wood and sage.

9—185

24, Sunday. Travelled up bluff Camp on a small mountain stream Good grass. Shrub and sage wood and a shower of rain that laid the dust.

7—192

25, Monday. Stationary—Resting cattle.

26, Tuesday. Trav cross plain Camp on a small stream that comes from the mountains. Good grass water and shrub wood.

10—202

27, Wednesday. Tr. cross elevated though level and rocky plains the rock are of the volcanic kind. passed hot springs, the hottest of which is hot enough to scald hogs. bold running streams a range of Mts. on the right or N. presenting ledges of rock and volcanic rock. Camp on a bold running little stream that comes from the Mts. grass shrub and sage wood.

15—217

28, Thursday. Trav over rocky plains in A. M. over very hilly and otherwise good road in P. M. good upland grass. Camp on a small stream. Wood.

20—237

29, Friday. Trav. over hilly road. grass generally but no water. Camp on Bosia R wood, grass &c.

20—257

30, Saturday. Trav. down Bosia River. Camp on bottom. Wood, water, grass &c.

15—272

31, Sunday. Trav. down Bosia R Bottom Camp on Bottom. Wood, water grass etc. The Bottoms are wide sand and gravelly and afford grass weeds Some cotton wood, willows and shrubs Compared with the other streams of this country is well timbered.

15—287

Sept. 1, Monday. Trav down Boisia R Crossed and camped on N side.

12—299

- 2, Tuesday. Tr. down Boisia R in part—passed Ft. Bosia situated below the mouth of Boisia R on the north side of Lewis R near the bank Crossed Lewis R 50 rods below fort it is about half a mile wide, depth half way our highest wagon Beds. Current not very strong. Camp on South side one mile from ford. Grass willow wood &c 7—308
- 3, Wednesday. Tr through poor and hilly country. Camp on Malheurs river a small tributary of Lewis R. grass and shrubs. 16—324
- 4, Thursday. Trav over hills good road camp on a small branch grass and shrubs 21—345
- 5, Friday. Trav. through hills and touch Lewis R. camp on Burnt river a small tributary of Lewis R. 10—355
- 6, Saturday. Trav. up B. river crossed numerous points considerable rock bad roads. Crossed R 8 times. Camp on R wood, water, grass. 14—369
- 7, Sunday. Trav. up B. river and Branches. Camp on small branch of the same. This river has no valley except a very narrow bottom that produces cotton-wood and shrubs, grass and rushes and is surrounded in every direction with Mts. but not of great altitude. They afford tolerably good grass. This is the most difficult part of the road to this point. 12—381
- 8, Monday. Trav. on the waters of Burnt river and touched on R once through mountains. Camp on a spring branch near a lone pine. grass and willows. 15—396
- 9, Tuesday. Trav. over hill and plain. Camp in bottom of Powder river. Wide bottoms. grass and willows. Timbered mountains near at hand. 20—416
- 10, Wednesday. Trav. down valley of Powder R. crossed 3 branches of the same. Camp on bottom good grass, willow wood, some excellent soil. 14—430
- 11, Thursday. Tr. through valley of Powder river Crossed ridges of Mts. Camp in the edge of Grande Rond. Powder river has wide bottoms and forms a considerable valley some of which is good soil producing willows and other shrubs grass, rushes, Flax clover &c on the west side of this valley a lofty range of the Blue mountains which produce the large straight and lofty pine, spruce and Fir in great abundance, good grazing on those mts & good springs near the valley but not plenty in the interior. 18—448
- 12, Friday. Trav. across the Grand Round a beautiful and rich valley of land probably containing one thousand square miles surrounded by the Blue Mountains which appear to be rich grass clover and is abundant here The mountain scenery is grand Camp at the foot of the Mt. on a branch. 13—461
- 13, Saturday. Trav. over mountains some prairie



and generally open along the road but the greater portion covered with the majestic pine and that densely, beautiful mountain scenery. Camp on Grand Round River in a dense forest the first camp of the kind on the whole route.

10—471

14, Sunday. Trav. through dense forest up 4 bad hills, rocky roads, very little water. Camp on Mt. Water unhandy.

11—482

15, Monday. Trav. crossed the summit of the Blue Mts. Camp on the Umatalow river Small branch all timbered country.

9—491

16, Tuesday. Trav. half through pine forest and nearly all down hill camp on Umatalow at the foot of the Blue Mountains. The Blue Mts are a beautiful range of Mts. They are well timbered and afford good grazing. Some places in them are covered with perpetual snow.

17—508

17, Wednesday. Trav. and camped on the Umatalow river.

The Indians raise corn and potatoes on this river horses are quite numerous. Dr. Whitman and lady visited our camp this morning and travelled with us and camped with us and worshipped with us. He had a wagon load of flour along not bolted \$8 pr. 100 lbs.

5—513

18, Thursday. Trav. down Umatalow river and crossed. Travelled and camped on bluff 2 left of road 2 miles from water from camp down high and steep hill.

14—527

19, Friday. Trav. struck the Umatalow at 12 miles Camp on Umatalow R.

14—541

20, Saturday. Travelled down Umatalow and Sand plain Camped without water. The camps on the Umatalow should be first where first struck at the foot of the Blue mountains. Camp 2 at first crossing 3 where road strikes river after crossing. Camp 4. 3 or 4 miles below second crossing. by making the above encampments water and grass will be convenient at each. From the last camp mentioned to the Columbia fifteen miles there is a sand plain without water and very poor grass.

18—559

21, Sund. Trav. Started at sun-rise Camp on the Columbia. Good grass some wood. The Columbia river at this place about 50 miles below Walla Walla is about one mile wide gentle current. The banks are about 20 feet high Narrow bottoms. But a sand plain extends back from the river 15 or 20 miles and rises tolerably gradual the whole distance and attains a considerable height This portion is very poor and unfit for cultivation further out the country is more rolling and continues to rise probably to the mountains.

The soil becomes better suited to cultivation. Dr. Whitman says it is good wheat land. Water during the dry season is scarce in this portion of Oregon ex-



cept the rivers that have their rise in the mountains. There is some timber on those streams but not of good quality being principally a kind of cotton-wood and shrubbery of various kinds. The Columbia is nearly destitute of timber or shrubs.

5--564

22, Monday. Stationary and annoyed by the Walla Walla Indians begging etc.

23, Tuesday. Travelled down Columbia Sandy road good camp 16 miles camped at a poor camp by a narrow slew of the Columbia.

20--584

24, Wednesday. Trav. down Columbia Crossed sandy and rocky plain. Crossed Quisnel 7 miles excellent camp Camp on Columbia at the mouth of a dry branch high rocky banks. bad camp. No wood.

16--600

25, Thursday. Trav. down Columbia left river in two places Travelled under high and rocky bluffs near half the day Camp on the river under high basaltic walls. The road again leaves the river No wood. bad camp. No good camp has been passed this day.

15--615

26, Friday. Trav. up one hill and down another to John Day's river. Camp on J D river No wood but green willow and small shrubs.

4--619

27, Saturday. Trav crossed J Day's river at rocky ford near camp thence up steep hill. balance good roads camp on the Columbia at the head of a rock Island which appears to fill the valley of the river nearly up. Willow and drift-wood.

20--639

28, Sunday. Travelled four miles to the falls Du Chutes river. This river is not less than 150 yds wide. Swimming deep for horses and swift Crossed in canoes by Walla Walla Indians. high ferriage Immediately above the ford which is near its junction with the Columbia there is a fall of about 20 feet in a short distance. It is rapid to the mouth and rocky thence up a steep hill and down on another to creek up another of the same kind and down onto a creek where we camped. The three last streams are about 6 miles distant from each other and afford good camps. Grazing is generally good in this section. There is oak timber on the last creek the first I have seen since I left Kansas river waters.

16--653

29, Monday. Trav. camp at the Dalles where the wagon road ends. I was not close to the Dalles but the Columbia R winds its way through rugged a great many miles which rise in benches to a great height. The river is generally contracted and some places very narrow. Timber begins to approach the river about the Dalles, principally oak and pine.

9--662

30, Tuesday. Remained at the Dalles.

Oct. 1, Wednesday. Same place.

2, Thursday. Trav. with cattle. Camp on the eastern slope of the Cascade Mts on a small creek after

travelling over hills thinly set with oak and pine timber.

16—677

3, Friday. Trav. up eastern slope of Cascade Mts. part through dense forests of pine, cedar and fir Camp at a mountain spring in the neighborhood of some small rich prairies at no great distance from Mt. Hood.

18—695

4, Saturday. Travelled over steep rough and rocky road down steep but on a creek and followed creek 4 miles to Mt. Hood Camp near Mt. Hood's southern extremity. poor camp but there is a great many springs in this place which afford tolerable good grass. There has been a great land slide at the head of the last mentioned creek from Mt. Hood which covered the valley of the creek to a great depth and the timber is still standing but deeply rooted in this treacherous foundation.

16—711

5, Sunday. Trav across the foot of Mt. Hood. Crossed several snow banks and camped in a deep hollow. Excellent grass Mt. Hood stands erect high above its neighbors and wears winter clothing during the whole year and immense quantities of water descend from the Mt. in every direction.

8—719

6, Monday. Travelled part of the foot of Mt. Hood and part down Sandy Creek. Crossed several awful gulfs at the foot of Mt. Hood Sandy rocky &c Camp on creek Poor grass.

15—735

7, Tuesday. Trav. down Sandy bad road camp on east side tolerably good grass. Very large timber.

9—744

8. Wednesday. Trav. down Sandy Camp on a small stream poor grass fallen timber good soil.

18—762

9, Thursday. Trav. Tolerable road good soil. Camp on waters of Clackamas. Good grass, good water.

20—782

10, Friday. Trav. down Clackamas Camp near its junction with Willamette.

16—798

11, Saturday. Travelled. Camp between Clackamas and Oregon City. Emigrants arriving at Oregon City with cattle or other stock will as well in all cases to proceed on up the valley to the prairie as soon as possible and all others that intend farming for their living.

2—800

The face of the country in Oregon Territory is diversified with mountains plains and valleys and the soil is as various as the face of the country. Commencing in the eastern section on the wagon road there is a large plain bordering Green River valley lying on both sides of the river, all except some small spots on what few water courses there is in this section of the country approximates nearly to desert without wood or water with a tolerable level surface surrounded with high mountains in different directions.

The next river (Bear) the valley is much smaller, but superior in soil water etc. surrounded by hills and mountains generally bald but not universally. There is a cedar grove at the Soda

Springs. The valley is very circuitous and the bed of the river much more so. The river perhaps from sixty to eighty yards wide not more than half the width of Green River and much shallower.

We then cross plain and mountain and strike Lewis river at Fort Hall where there is a considerable of moderately fertile land near the river and other waters. After passing Great Falls there is a wide extended valley of great length resembling that on Green river. The Salmon falls are within this valley of sterility.

After leaving this plain the surface is more diversified and the soil more various but generally very poor until 20 or 30 miles east of the Blue Mountains where the soil improves to such a degree that large valleys of very good soil and fine timber in abundance on the mountains.

West of the Blue Mts the greater portion is high rolling prairie to the eastern spurs of the Cascades. Scarce of water with occasional sand plains nearly sterile.

The Cascade Mts. are high and in many places very broken heavy timbered except the peaks of perpetual snow. At the western termination of this range is the Willamette valley through which the river of the same name flows. The width of this valley is perhaps 40 miles and probably over 200 long from N to S. The Wilamette enters into the Columbia 6 miles below Ft. Vancouver on the latter. About 25 miles above the junction there is a fall in the Wilamette of 25 or 30 feet nearly perpendicular. It receives the waters of the Clackamas 2 miles below the falls.

From the east a river of considerable magnitude 8 or 10 miles higher up receives the united streams of the Molally and Pudding Rivers when united something smaller than the Clackamas. The next river from the east is the Santyann about 50 miles higher up. This is the largest tributary of the Willamette below the forks. It comes from the Cascade Mts. in 4 considerable streams but all unite near one place several miles from the Mts. and 4 or 5 from the Wilamette. The next is the Calopia a small river having its source in the Cascade Mts. from thence the main forks of the Wilamette a distance 25 or 30 miles there are no streams of any considerable size.

The first stream entering on the West of any note is Twality River. About the size of Pudding river 2 miles above the falls. Next the Yam Hill about the same size, 25 or 30 miles higher up. next Rickerol a small river, About 15 miles higher up. next Luckamuke larger than the last mentioned, 10 miles higher up, then Mary's R. 20 higher up something larger than the Luckamuke.

Long Tom Bath 20 miles higher up, larger than the Mary R. The tributaries on the east side are more rocky and rapid than those on the West.

Ten or twelve miles above the mouth of Long Tom Bath the Wilamette forks and the forks branch out into a number

of streams. Of course the navigation must cease for large craft. Below forks to the Columbia I think the navigation of the Willamette will be found good for steamboats of common size with some slight obstructions by ——— the Great Falls at Oregon City. But as far as Mary's river at least. There is a rapid at the mouth of the Clackamus that is very swift but there is a sufficient depth of water at the low stage for boats of light draught.

Face of the country in the Willamette valley is something various, large sections quite level others nearly with conical hills occasionally and some parts hilly. Below falls the valley lies exclusively on the east side and with the exception of some small on the Clackamus and a few other small spots, is a heavy timbered country with a tolerably level surface. The settlers being a few on the main Willamette and on the Clackamus Beside the heavy growth of timber and undergrowth there is a species of Fern that is very hard to subdue.

From the falls to the Molally there is no prairie and but few farmers although there (are) several claims taken here hilly but not broken on the east side of the W. R. Above Molally there is more prairie but the greatest part is timbered for about 40 miles higher up surface mostly level. Pudding R. drains a large Portion of this section tolerably well watered only. Above this prairie predominates as far as the waters of the Santy ann extends up but is tolerably well supplied in most places and a sufficient quality on the waters of the Santy ann. Fire wood more abundant than building and fencing timber as fir and cedar is used almost exclusively for fencing.

Hills and valleys in this a great portion of hills red soil, mostly timbered with oak &c. A considerable portion of the low land is gravelly and some portions with soil generally good and the best watered part of the whole valley. Above the waters of the Santy Ann the country is very level as high up as the forks with but very little timber except at the Mts. and near the Willamette and a narrow strip bordering the Calopia which flows across not far from the center of this prairie.

Above this point timber seems to be quite plenty. Soil near the Mts. excellent. On the west side of Twality River there is a small section of prairie called Twality plains surrounded with excellent. But from the Yam Hill up fir timber is generally very scarce except on the Willamette and at the Mts. The face of the country variegated with hills and valleys, intersected with low gaps or valleys running from one water course to another, the upper end of this valley being much the levellest. For twenty miles above Long Tom Bath the soil generally (good) but the central part excellent but not so well timbered nor watered as the east side of the valley though fire wood is generally plenty and there is an inexhaustible supply of Fir timber in the Mts and on the Willamette which is not entirely out of reach of any portion of the valley. Above the Willamette forks timber more abundant.

The timber in the valley consists of red, white and yellow fir,



white oak, cedar, spruce, cottonwood, Willow, ash, yew, alder, cherry, maple, Dog-wood, Bay or Laurel, Pine of pitch species. The shrubbery is various and large consisting of elder, hazel, crab-apple, service, skunk-wood etc. Above the forks of the Willamette there (is) Black oak but none in the lower part and no spruce in the upper that I have seen besides the Willamette Valley.

It is said by recent explorers that there is a more extensive country N. of the Columbia bordering Puget's Sound well adapted to grazing and agriculture and south on the Umpqua, Clamet and Rouge rivers. There is said to be considerable of excellent soil well adapted to grazing and tillage perhaps the whole country west of the Cascade Mts between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $49^{\circ}$  that is not mountainous will not exceed 25 or 30 thousand square miles though it is generally estimated much larger. The mountainous country will undoubtedly be settled to a considerable extent at some distant day the principal difficulty is the immensely heavy growth of timber.

The tillable portion of the Willamette valley is well adapted to wheat and other grains cultivated in the United States with the exception of Indian corn which owing to the peculiarities of the climate does not succeed so well as in the States of equal soil. Cabbage, beets onions turnips parsnips & carrots thrive remarkably well. The Rev. Mr. Parrish raised on new prairie land a turnip that weighed 28 lbs and a beet that weighed  $13\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. Potatoes as well as pumpkins squashes melons tomatoes tolerably. It is said that gourds will not do any good.

Climate. The winters are much warmer and wetter than in the same latitude in the states and the summers dryer and cooler, the nights in particular.

Internal improvements consist chiefly of some small improvements on roads the principal of which is Captain Barlows over the Cascade Mts. called the Mt. Hood road and that is very difficult to be passed and something dangerous owing to the ruggedness of the country through which it passes and the dense forest. This road was cut in 1846 by Barlow and associates for toll by authority of the legislature of the Territory. There has been another route explored by Applegate, Harris, Goff & leaving the old road about 50 miles west of Ft. Hall down Mary River and coming in the southwest side of the Willamette valley. But one emigration has come this route which caused great delay and loss of lives and property some of which remained on the Umpqua River. Great suffering was the consequence.

May 16 I am now lying on a small stream called Zig zag on Capt. Barlow's road on my way to the States, 45 miles from all humans. We made the attempt to cross the Mts. with our pack animals but was prevented by the snow it being 10 ft deep on Mts where road passes through solid enough for a man to walk on. Our animals were unpacked at the commencement of the snow and taken back to grass by the rest of the company. I remain with the packs my only companions Grizzly Bears and their habits are rather unsocial and not much to be desired.



Review of the Oregon Road Pack horse trail and wagon road alternately. Left the Willamette valley on the 26th May travelled the wagon roads it being difficult on (account) of high waters and deep snow in the Cascade Mts. For 10 or 12 miles on and near the summit the snow varied from 2 to 10 ft in depth, sufficiently solid for horses to travel on top. Crossing streams on natural bridges of snow. After passing the snow about 30 miles the grass was in its bloom and very fine until I reached Ft. Bosia.

We then took the pack trail on the south side of Snake River and passed through the most barren part of the territory that I have been in. From the Salmon Falls to Ft Hall, I found the grass much superior to that of '45.

From Ft. Hall eastward to this point Smith's fork of Bear River the grass is excellent. We are waiting here the arrival of Emigrants which are hourly expected. The Southern company from the Willamette valley arrived here by the southern route ten days in advance of us and Major Harris had been to the pass of the Rocky Mts. and returned meeting two hundred emigrating wagons.

July 4th 1847 we were one month later reaching this place in 1845. On our return trip with packed animals, we reached Ft. Hall in 31 days from the settlement in the Willamette valley meeting with no very serious obstructions crossing streams being the greatest difficulty with the exception of swarms of mosquitos.

On reviewing the road on which I travelled in 1845 and Greenwood cut off which leaves the old road about 2 miles east of the Little Sandy and intersects again near the mouth of Smiths Fork of Bear river. This route is generally rough and circuitous and Sweet Water is generally level but very sandy and heavy road which continues some distance eastward.

Notes taken of the road leading from the Independence road to St Joseph in Buchanan County Mo. Camp to the right of the road on a small creek 8 miles west of the forks of the road.

Big Blue 8 miles east of forks of the road third camp is E. of Blue on a small creek at the road waters of the Blue. Fifth camp 5 miles on small creek, where road crosses there is another small creek about one mile East. Sixth camp on main fork of Wolf River 15 miles fine prairie bottom on West side Bluff on the East. Camps may be made at different points by turning a short distance off the road unless the weather is very dry. From this point eastward there is no good camp for about 18 miles. Then they may be had on either side of the road by leaving it some distance. Another good camp 6 miles east of the latter on a small creek south of the road at a great bend on the creek. From this camp there is no camp on the road but may be had at a reasonable distance on the left hand or South 8 miles from the Agency. From this to St. Joseph distance is about 25 miles camps are plenty the road broken.

The following is a list of persons that perished in the California Mts by hunger or cold in the winter of 1846 & 47.

Jacob Donnor, Betsy Donnor, Isaac Donnor Wm. Donnor, Lewis Donnor, Samuel Donnor, George Donnor, Mrs. Donnor, John Denton, Balus Williams, Milford Elliott, James Smith, Mr. Graves, Miss Graves, Franklin, Graves, J. A. Fausbic, C. T. Staunton, Patrick Dolon, Samuel Shoemaker, Mr. Murphy, Samuel Murphy, Andrew Murphy, Geo. Foster, L. Eddy, James Eddy, Eliza Eddy, Katherine Pike, Harriet McCutcheon, Dutch Rignhart, Mr. Hardcope, Mr. Spilcer, Charles Berger, L. T. Kethburg, Bethy Kethburg, Antonio Spaniard. Lewis and Salvado from Suiters.

Oregon City James Watson Ephraim Stout John or James Stout.

Seeds not generally difused through Oregon Territory.

Timber:—Chestnut, beech, sugar maple, Linn, Elm, hickory, hackberry, walnut, buckeye, cucumber, Sasafras, plum, poplar, paw paw, persimmon, honey locust, black locust.

Orchard and garden:—Grapes, currants, gooseberry, apple seed, cherry, peach, pear, tansy, rue, mint, catnip, burdock, horse raddish, calamus, hoarhound, shallot, garlic, white rye, sile, oats, mulberry, persimmon.

Distances from one noted place to another on the Oregon road.

To Kansas R.....	80—	80
Platte R.....	228—	308
Where road leaves Fork.....	162—	470
Strike N. Fork.....	20—	490
Scotts Bluffs.....	74—	564
Fort Platte & Laramie.....	60—	624
Cross N. fork Platte.....	125—	749
Independence Rock.....	57—	806
Divide of the Oceans.....	97—	903
Cross Green River.....	59—	962
Fort Bridger.....	48—	1010
Bear River.....	60—	1070
Soda Springs.....	92—	1162
Ft Hall on Lewis R.....	69—	1231
Salmon Falls.....	151—	1382
Ford of Lewis R.....	31—	1413
Ft Bosia and second crossing of Lewis River..	126—	1539
Powder R. E. side B. Mts.....	108—	1647
Umataallow W. side Mts.....	92—	1739
Columbia R.....	55—	1794
Dalles.....	98—	1892
Oregon City.....	138—	2030

Since the above was written a part of the road has been measured which varies about 23 miles from Ft Laramie to the divide of the Oceans.

**The Naming of Seward in Alaska.**

It is not often that complete documentary evidence is preserved showing the manner and reason of naming a city. For that reason it is thought best to here record the letters and orders resulting in this honor to the memory of the great War Secretary of State.

The following letter was dated at the office of the Chief Engineer of the Alaska Central Railway Company in Seattle, June 23, 1902:

Prof. Edmond S. Meany,  
University, Wash.

Dear Sir:

I have been giving some thought to the question of a name for the town at the southern terminus of the Alaska Central Railway. This town will be a nice commanding site on Resurrection Bay, which Bay is the only open port the year round on what is known as the South Coast of the main part of Alaska, and is about in the middle of said South Coast, being between Prince William Sound and Cook's Inlet.

One of our engineers has suggested the name "Almouth," meaning mouth of Alaska. While not satisfied with the name, I am not myself able to think of a better one, and wish that you would make some suggestion to me in the matter.

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,  
Chief Engineer.

The reply of Professor Meany was dated at the University of Washington, Seattle, 1 July, 1902, and was as follows:  
Mr. C. M. Anderson,

Chief Engineer of Alaska Central Ry. Co.  
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of 23 June is at hand.

I thank you for the opportunity of suggesting a name for the southern terminus of the new railroad. The name above all others most appropriate for a prominent city in Alaska is Seward.

The Alaska Purchase Treaty was concluded 30 March, 1867; ratifications exchanged at Washington 20 June, 1867; proclaimed 20 June, 1867. The treaty was signed by William H. Seward for the United States and Edouard de Stoeckl for Russia.

The purchased empire was little appreciated. It was ridiculed by Harner's Weekly and others as "Seward's Paradise," etc. Practically all the negotiations were conducted by Seward.

More than any other one man is he responsible for American ownership of Alaska.

By all means let us honor the great War Secretary of State.

I have examined the official list of U. S. postoffices dated 1 January, 1902, and find no Seward in the list.

Mr. C. L. Wayland, U. S. Inspector of Postoffices, will soon leave for Alaska. He establishes and often names new postoffices. You should see him and arrange for the name you decide upon.

I am somewhat familiar with the history of Alaska, and if Seward is found impossible for any reason I could suggest other names that would commemorate significant facts. To me this method of naming cities is much to be preferred to the plan of sticking pieces of names together as "Almouth" or "Bucoda."

Yours faithfully

EDMOND S. MEANY.

On July 2, 1902, Chief Engineer Anderson wrote to Mr. G. W. Dickinson, President and General Manager of the Alaska Central Railway Company, as follows:

Dear Sir: Inclosed please find correspondence relative to name of southern terminus.

I wish to refer the same to Mr. Wayland with your endorsement.

On this letter was written in pencil the following:

Anderson.

Good idea to have concurrence of P. O. people. Ask Wayland.

G. W. D.

On July 2, 1902, Mr. Anderson wrote:

Mr. C. L. Wayland,  
Postal Inspector.

Dear Sir: Please act on Mr. Meany's suggestion if you can do so. And greatly oblige

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,  
Chief Engineer.

To this letter Mr. Wayland replied as follows, on July 4:

In compliance with your attached request I would suggest the name of "Vituska," pronounced Ve-tus-ka, and being made up (1) of the first (and chief) name of Vitus Bering, the Dane, who for Russia in 1728 to 1741 discovered Alaska, the Bering

Sea and Strait and thus completed the discovery of North and South America begun by Columbus 250 years before; and (2) of the final syllable of Alaska. This is a positively distinct and striking and solid name and sounds exactly like it belonged to Alaska—as it does. I can't share Prof. Meary's aversion to names made of pieces. It has been the loving task of all lexicographers to show how nearly all words were built of pieces and to show the meaning of the word through the meanings of its pieces.

The last letter of this series is as follows:

Seattle. Wash., July 8, 1902.

Mr. G. W. Dickinson,  
General Manager.

Dear Sir: Enclosed please find correspondence, in relation to the naming of our southern terminal. If thought best to accept Mr. Wayland's suggestion to name the terminal "Vituska," I would suggest that the name of the Bay be made "Almouth." While not personally very pleasantly impressed with the name "Vituska" in respect to Mr. Wayland's suggestion, shall use said name, unless I receive contrary suggestion from you.

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,  
Chief Engineer.

This letter bears these pencilled letters "O. K.—G. W. D."

Professor Meany happened to be a passenger on the Steamship Bertha in July of 1902 and had, as fellow passengers, a party of engineers bound for Resurrection Bay for the Alaska Central Railway. From that party he obtained a copy of the above correspondence. The only missing item is the order, if any was given, by which "Vituska" was set aside and the originally suggested name of "Seward" was decided upon for the city thus founded in Alaska in 1902.



## BOOK REVIEWS.

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**Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound.** By Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History, University of Washington, and Secretary Washington University State Historical Society. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907, 344 pp., \$2.50.)

With this expressive title has recently been published the latest addition to the history of the North Pacific Coast. No original literary work in the past, connected with Western America, has been of more interest and value than Vancouver's own narrative of his explorations during the last decade of the eighteenth century. His journal of that famous voyage, covering a period of four years, was evidently written from day to day as the expedition progressed, and just as evidently was truthful and reliable in every respect. George Vancouver entered the British Navy in 1772 at the tender age of thirteen years. For nineteen years following he sailed about the world, rendering his country various forms of naval service, including engagement in battle, and participation in the great voyage of discovery by Captain Cook to the Far West, the Far South and the Far North, and by reason of the zeal and ability he displayed, rising rank by rank until he became a commander and captain. He was a careful navigator, an able seaman, a strict disciplinarian, thorough in all his undertakings, honest and loyal to the core. These things being known at London, it is not astonishing that he was chosen to conduct an expedition in which would be required a combination of tact and delicacy, courage and skill, intelligence and ability possessed by but few of his contemporaries in the service. The duties imposed upon him on this occasion were honorable in the extreme; the powers conferred broad and generous. They included international diplomacy, as well as exploration, discovery and the acquisition of territory, protection and fostering of British trade, the making of maps and charts, the writing of history, and the supreme command of two naval vessels and one hundred and forty-five men for a period exceedingly prolonged and in parts of the world where official communication with him would be as impossible as today would be the case with one

at the North Pole. Captain Vancouver left his mark wherever he went, and very visibly so on the coast of the State of Washington, on Puget Sound, in the waters and on the shores of British Columbia and in Alaska. It is of this part of his long voyage that Professor Meany has written and published. He has reproduced in full the very copious reports of Vancouver, the value of which may be understood when it is stated that it is practically impossible to secure or buy the same as published one hundred and more years ago. Not only has he done this, but he has added immensely to the value of his publication by the descriptive and biographic notes and portraits with which the book abounds. Vancouver confined his illustrations to scenes on the voyage and to maps, and modestly and naturally enough said but little of himself and others outside their official acts and functions. In the work under review are not only all the original illustrations, but many others, enlivening it greatly, and making plainer the text. The biographies are scarcely less important than the body matter. He tells plainly and at length who Puget, Vashon, Hood, Howe, Rainier, Gardner, Jervis, Burrard and Mudge were—all officers of the Royal Navy, who distinguished themselves, who became Admirals, and whose names were left by Vancouver upon waters and lands where they are likely to remain to the end of time. So also of Townsend, Grenville, Bute, Whidby, Orchard, Baker, Broughton and others. Probably the fullest life sketch of Vancouver himself is that appearing in this volume from the pen of his admiring biographer, the professor of history of the University of Washington. Justice is also done to Quadra, the Spaniard, who is here rescued from oblivion and to whose memory deserved honor is paid. The explorations, enterprises and other acts of Drake, Cook, Perez, Heceta, Meares, Portlock, Dixon, Kendrick, Gray, Barclay, Martinez, Elisa, Fidalgo, Quimper, Caamano and others, at and about Nootka, Fuca Strait, Columbia River and elsewhere on the Pacific shores are briefly and entertainingly told. So also there is account of the celebrated Indian chief Maquinna, of Nootka, and narration of the destruction there of the American ships *Boston* and *Tonquin*, with massacre of their crews—two of the bloodiest and most terrible events in our Pacific history. In this reproduction of Vancouver's journal in its entirety, and its placing in the new form within the reach of all desirous persons, a great literary service has been rendered to the world. When to this are added the other matters herein referred to—

the introductory chapters, the side narratives, the biographies, explanatory notes and illustrations—the value of the service is increased beyond estimation or expression, and especially is this true in its relation to the people occupying the countries bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean. Conscientiously, clearly, concisely, the author has told a story that here is of deep interest and to which there never will be diminution.

In the volume he has just issued Professor Meany gratefully acknowledges his obligations to numerous persons, both in Europe and America, for assistance given him in the preparation and publication, and gracefully dedicates it to his Alma Mater, the University of Washington.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

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**Professor Edmond S. Meany.**

It is habitual to speak of Seattle as a young city. The vigor and enthusiasm of youth is noticeable in most of its prominent citizens, and the uncompleted condition of its streets, and the many new buildings in course of construction are suggestive of newness. The city is, however, not too young to reap honors from the character and achievements of men who have lived in Seattle from childhood to mature age and achieved success within her atmosphere and environments. Among the men of the class above indicated, Professor Edmond S. Meany stands among the foremost. He is a man of great physical and intellectual force. In stature and the massiveness of his frame he resembles a fir tree; his clear and penetrating eyes are like an eagle's; and his voice needs not to be reinforced by a megaphone to be heard distinctly by every person in any large assemblage of people; as a student and seeker of knowledge he is untiring; as a lecturer and orator he is fluent, interesting, persuasive and magnetic; he has a retentive memory and a logical mind, by which he is enabled when addressing an audience to use most effectively the great thoughts and important facts which by industry and patience he has gleaned from books and collected in travel; in the cause of education, in scientific research, and in all that pertains to the public welfare, he is an enthusiast and a patriot; he is magnanimous and brave, an ardent lover of his friends, and faithful to his home family.

This is my estimate of his personality, and it can be fully justified by a simple narrative of the facts in his record. He was born in Michigan, in the year 1862, but has lived in Seattle more than thirty years. In my travels and practice in pioneer times, I came in contact with and became acquainted with practically all of the men engaged in the steamboat business on Puget Sound, and in that way I became acquainted with Mr. Stephen Meany, who engaged in steamboating and was mate of the steamer "Fannie Lake" for several years preceding his death by drowning in the Skagit River, in the year 1880. He was a man who performed his duties in a quiet and businesslike way, and I liked him, and after his death I watched with interest the conduct of his son, who at the time referred to was a quiet, industrious and well-behaved youth. He began earning money in Seattle while attending school by delivering milk, and afterward became the carrier of the morning newspaper. The death of his father cast upon him the burden of supporting his mother and family, and created a necessity for earning more money, which in his situation could only be accomplished by doing more work, and he accordingly sought and obtained additional employment, doing janitor service and keeping a set of books for the retail grocery firm of Densmore & Johnson. A majority of the boys, having already the rudiments of an education, and being under the necessity of performing hard work, would have permanently abandoned school, but at that early age "Ed" Meany had ambition as well as an independent spirit, and he continued a regular course of study in school and in the Territorial University, devoting the time which other students gave to recreation to meeting the demand upon his earning capacity, not only to pay his own way while acquiring an education, but to assist his family. With the class of 1885 of the University of Washington Territory he graduated with honor, and was the valedictorian of his class. One of the most praiseworthy institutions of Seattle in early times was the Young Naturalists' Society, an association of school boys devoted to the pursuit of scientific research, and especially the collection of specimens and knowledge of natural history, botany, etc., pertaining to the waters, forests and mountains of Washington Territory, and of this society young Meany was an active member. In the troublesome period of 1885 and 1886, when the honest laborers of the Territory, incited by foreign agitators, were organized for the unlawful purpose of expelling the Chinese inhabitants by force, and in defiance of the government,



young Meany was enrolled among the defenders of law and order. The organization of Home Guards of which he was a member preceded the organization of the National Guard of Washington Territory, and when the change occurred Meany enlisted in Company E, which was at first commanded by Capt. E. M. Carr, and included in its membership a large number of the most prominent citizens of Seattle, who are still active in promoting its welfare. When Meany was a very young man my faith in him caused me to propose his name more than once for nomination as a Republican candidate for representative in the legislature of Washington Territory. He was not called to that service, however, until after the State government had succeeded the Territory. In 1891 and 1893 he served two terms as representative in the state legislature, and was one of the most efficient and valuable members sent from King County. His services were especially valuable in securing necessary legislation for the reorganization of the University and its relocation on the site which it now occupies. After the termination of his second term as a member of the legislature, he became officially connected with the University, holding the position of Registrar until the year 1897, when by a change of administration he was required to give up his position, to make a place for a man belonging to a different political party. There was, however, such an apparent need for a man of Meany's capacity and energy in the work of building up the University, that the Board of Regents were prevailed upon to retain him as a member of the Faculty, and he was accordingly retained as Professor of History, a position for which he is adapted by nature, and which he has worthily filled continuously until the present time. Since the organization of the University of Washington State Historical Society, Professor Meany has been its secretary and main support, and in that capacity he has rendered services of permanent value in gathering and preserving and making accessible to the public important historical facts. By his personal solicitation the expenses of monuments and tablets marking the sites of historical events have been collected, and under his superintendence the monuments and tablets have been placed. Without hope of pecuniary remuneration, he has industriously traced to the utmost sources in Europe and America lines of original investigation, and has accomplished extraordinary results in securing reliable information with respect to explorations and discoveries of the Northwest Coast of America, in the times of its wilderness stage, and



the volume of which he is author containing the interesting facts, and reproductions of pictures and drawings thus collected, is a valuable contribution to the world's storehouse of knowledge.

CORNELIUS H. HANFORD.

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**The First Forty Years of Washington Society.** By Margaret Bayard Smith. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.)

A century ago, when our National Capital was new, official society was quite compact; although our author would seem to indicate a hard and fast line between gentlemen and men, referring to them as a matter of course as races apart, every one within the charmed circle knew every one else.

Margaret Bayard Smith, whose husband published the first national newspaper printed in America, lived in Washington for the first forty-four years of the nineteenth century. This selection from her family letters throws intimate sidelights on the public characters of that day, with all of whom they were more or less closely connected. The Smiths visited, as close personal friends, Jefferson, the Madisons, the Clays and the Calhouns, and they entertained or met nearly all the distinguished foreigners who came to the city during that time. Mrs. Smith and her correspondents talk fully and freely of these folks—their looks, their manners, their characters, and the impressions they received from them; as well as sending each other the earliest intelligence of important events or of striking circumstances that came under their observation.

There was only one little church and a chapel in the city when Mrs. Smith went there. Provision was made for services in the Hall of Representatives at which clergymen of any denomination might officiate. This soon became a fashionable resort for beaux and beauties who bowed, whispered, moved around, and even laughed aloud when the services became irksome. The delivery of the morning mail also served as an interruption. She objected to the music which a marine band in scarlet uniforms attempted to supply for the psalm singing.

"Sunday was the universal day for visits and entertainments." A Mr. Breckenridge, preaching to this society, threatened them with the fate of Ninevah. The burning of the city by the British some time afterwards led Mrs. Madison to remark on the ap-

parent fulfillment of the prophecy, but the inhabitants continued to sin in the same way for many years afterwards.

At Madison's inauguration ball the room was so terribly crowded that our folks had to stand on benches. "An attempt had been made to appropriate particular seats for the ladies of public character, but it was found impossible to carry it into effect, for the sovereign people would not resign their privileges, and the high and the low were promiscuously blended on the floor and in the galleries. \* \* \* It was scarcely possible to elbow their way from one side to another. Poor Mrs. Madison was almost pressed to death, for every one crowded around her, those behind pressing on those before and peeping over their shoulders to have a peep at her."

The division of labor was not carried so far in those days. One could hire such a housekeeper as this: "I shall prepare a large room for her, in which she will sleep and sit, and in which the two boys will eat and sit of an evening. They are now so rude and troublesome at their meals and in their manners that I promise myself they will be much benefited by being with her. She is to make and mend their clothes. She can make all Mr. S.'s except his coats, and is likewise a good mantua-maker and seamstress. She is to iron and clear starch, and when I am prevented by other duties from discharging the delightful cares of a nurse. She is to take my place."

"The other evening Susan and I were very much diverted by two most venerable senators, who came to drink tea with us. I perceived Judge R. minutely surveying the forte piano, and supposed he might be fond of music, so asked Susan to play for them. \* \* \* What I supposed to be attention marked on their countenances I afterwards found out to be astonishment, for I believe it was the first time they had seen or heard such a thing. They felt all over the outside, peeped in where it was open and seemed so curious to know how the sound was produced, or whence it came, that I begged Susan to open the lid and display the internal machinery. \* \* \* 'Dear me,' said the Judge, 'how pretty those white and red things jump up and down. Dear me, what a parcel of wires. Strange that a harp with a thousand strings should keep in tune so long.' 'Pray,' said the other senator, 'have you any rule to play music?' \* \* \* They are very sensible men and useful citizens, but they have lived in the back woods, that's all."

When her final visit to Jefferson at Monticello was drawing to a close, he said to her: "The whole of my life has been a

war with my natural taste, feelings and wishes. Domestic life and literary pursuits were my first and my latest inclinations, circumstances and not my desires lead me to the path I have trod. And like a bow, though long bent, which, when unstrung, flies back to its natural state, I resume with delight the character and pursuits for which nature designed me. The circumstances of our country, at my entrance into life, were such that every honest man felt himself compelled to take a part, and to act up to the best of his abilities."

Mrs. Smith had long conversations with Mr. Owen of Lanark. She found him personally attractive and she had no fault to find with the logic of his socialistic schemes, which were new then, but she calls him an amiable madman because he thought he could carry those schemes out.

Harriet Martineau was lionized when she visited Washington. "No stranger excepting LaFayette ever received such universal and marked testimonials of regard. \* \* \* At first our great men were disposed to laugh at her, but now they are her most devoted admirers and constant visitors. Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Preston, Judge Story and many others often visited her, and when she goes to the Senate or courtroom leave their seats to converse with her."

These letters are not only informing, but vastly entertaining. The book is attractively gotten up and well illustrated. It is edited by Gaillard Hunt.

MARY G. O'MEARA.

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### **The Coal Mine Workers—A Study in Labor Organization.**

By Frank Julian Warne, Ph. D. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co.)

This helpful little volume, whose author has made a special study of the Slav immigrant workers in the coal mines, is a careful and detailed study of "The United Mine Workers of America." Dr. Warne studies the mine workers as a labor organization on the assumption that all labor organizations, however they may differ as to constitutions, organizations and methods, are working for identically the same objects.

"The writer has no theory to discuss nor any side to support. He takes the trade union as he finds it, aims to explain impartially its objects and purposes, points out what he believes to be the mistakes in organization \* \* \* and describes the industrial machinery which it is bringing into possession of society for the performance of needful service."

Interesting light is thrown upon the methods of handling the

union, and it is worth while to point out that much of the experience gained by the labor union man in his union is ready to be carried over into the political field. One is constantly surprised at the intensely democratic philosophy and action thus brought into existence. It would be interesting to know just how much of these are the result of the labor unionists' reading, and how much the result of actual self-government in his union.

The book is a little too detailed to make good, popular reading, but is useful to the student who wishes to see how these people are making democracy work in the unions. It can be but a short while until this training makes itself felt in the political field.

Perhaps the American Federation of Labor's recent activity is only the forerunner of what is to come later.

— EDWARD M'MAHON.

**A Tour of Four Great Rivers:** the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware, in 1769; being the journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey. Edited, with a short history of the pioneer settlements, by Francis W. Halsey. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. lxxiii., 102.)

Immediately following the Fort Stanwix Treaty of November, 1768, by which a large tract of land was surrendered by the Indians, considerable interest was manifested in the lands along the upper courses of New York and Pennsylvania Rivers. Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey, became one of the proprietors of 69,000 acres on the Upper Susquehanna, and in May, 1769, set out to make a survey of the grant. He proceeded across New Jersey, up the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers well into the Indian country. Turning south through the wilderness he came to the Susquehanna, down which he traveled some distance till he reached a point not far from the Delaware. The latter brought him back to his home at Burlington. Smith's journal, written on this trip, is full of all manner of details that he fancied would have any bearing on land values, as well as many others that he evidently thought of interest. The location of settlements and their source of supplies; the size of trout caught in the streams, and the kind of bait used to catch them; a description of the process of making maple sugar, evidently a novelty to him; the large crops that could be raised with little cultivation; a bird's nest on the ground containing three eggs similar to robins' eggs; the way the Indians carried their children—these and scores of such observations make up the journal. At the close he gives "a table of distances" between the points on his



journey, showing that he traveled 676 miles. Finally, in a chapter by itself, as though not a part of the journal, we find Smith's "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Indians," in which he suggests that "probably distant posterity will peruse as fables the accounts which may be handed down of the present customs of the aborigines of North America."

The editor's introduction, nearly as long as the journal itself, is well enough to give an historical setting for the benefit of the popular reader and furnish occasion for a number of excellent half-tones scattered through the book, but one cannot help wishing that a little more scholarship, both historical and literary, had been displayed in this connection. Mostly secondary sources are cited and these quite without page references. The arrangement of the subject matter is cumbersome and confusing. Mr. Halsey, however, deserves commendation for his evidently careful editing and indexing of the journal.

— GEORGE H. ALDEN.

**The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot; Original Narratives of Early American History.** (Reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association. General editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Ph. D., LL. D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington.) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 443.)

In this most recent publication authorized by the American Historical Association we find a choice collection of original narratives that is without doubt a useful and valuable addition to the list of reliable reference books on the early history of America. It lays bare the classical narratives on which our earliest history is founded, those which form the sources of our knowledge of the discovery of America. Such a work cannot fail to prove a real acquisition to the library of a school or college, or to that of the true student of history. No modern history, however excellent, can give the reader all that he can get from the "ipsissima verba" of the first narrators, Argonauts or eye-witnesses, vivacious explorers or captains courageous. There are many cases in which the secondary narrators have quite hidden from view these first authorities, whom it is therefore a duty to restore to their rightful position. In a still greater number of instances, the primitive narrations have become so scarce and expensive that no ordinary library can hope to possess anything like a complete set of the classics of early American history. Consequently a real service is done American historical students when sources such as these are made easily accessible



to the general public. And just that service has been rendered in the publication of the collection under consideration.

For one who loves to seek out the original sources of our historical knowledge and who delights to wander down the obscure byways of the past—dim-lit, grass-grown with tradition, long since abandoned by the ordinary wayfarer, and almost hidden by the abundant growth of more recent events,—for him, I say, these original narratives will awaken a rare joy. As his interest grows and his eyes travel from page to page he will feel like a pocket miner who has just made a “find,” and can’t cease congratulating himself. All his life long he has heard more or less vague allusions to a Norse discovery of America that antedated the efforts of Columbus—but here he lights upon an excellent translation of the old age-worn sagas, Icelandic annals and papal letters that have formed the basis of our belief in the discovery of America by Lief Ericsson about the year 1000. These choice documents have been carefully edited by Julius E. Olson, professor of Scandinavian language and literature in the University of Wisconsin.

Throughout the entire “Saga of Eric the Red” pulses the intensely human record of sturdy warriors, bold Vikings, generous-hearted comrades and brave, strong women who shared alike with their powerful husbands the dangers of the storm-swept ocean, the rigors of the cruel, northern winter, the privations and hardships of pioneer life and the alarming adventures of life in a strange and hitherto unknown land inhabited by savages. These long-treasured pieces of ancient writing are permeated with the vigorous, daring spirit of the hardy Norseman, who with unyielding purpose, undismayed courage and unabated energy, breasted the stormy Northern seas, sailed from island to island, founded colonies, cultivated farmsteads, established primitive law and order, dispensed free-handed hospitality, honored women as comrades in life’s battle, and inspired anew each rising generation with a love for achievement. This is the temper of the race that first of all Europeans is believed to have discovered America, probably making landing in the region of Nova Scotia or somewhat further south. The old Sagas relate how Lief Ericsson, who had been commissioned by King Olaf of Norway to carry the news of Christianity to Greenland, was beset with adverse winds, blown out of his course and made the discovery of this western land, where self-sown wheat and vines were found growing and great trees that could afford large timbers for building. Later on we read how Thorfinn Karlsefni, a

friend of Lief Ericsson, explored "Vinland the Good," came upon "long strands and sandy banks," coasted far southward and finally settled on the edge of a lake not far from the coast, and with his party enjoyed good hunting and fishing for more than three years. Here and there in the story we come upon suggestive allusions to a strange people who sped over the water in large "skin canoes"—in one place described as "swarthy men, and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes and were broad of cheek \* \* \* dressed in skin doublets. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and gray skins. \* \* \*

In exchange for perfect, unsullied skins the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length which they would bind around their heads." On another occasion we read how "the Skrellings attacked the newcomers unawares, showering them with missiles hurled by war-slings. When Freydis, the wife of one of Karlsefni's men, came out of her hut and saw the men taking to flight, she yelled after them, "Why do ye flee from these wretches, such worthy men as ye, when, meseems, ye might slaughter them like cattle? Had I but a weapon, methinks I would fight better than any one of you." Later she discovered a sword and prepared to defend herself. Here we read "The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift and slapped her breast with the naked sword." At this brave show of defiance "the Skrellings were terrified, ran down to their boats and rowed away. Karlsefni and his companions, however, joined her and praised her valor." At another time Freydis is represented playing the role of Lady Macbeth in a way almost to rival Shakespeare's heroine. Gudrid, the wife of Karlsefni, however, carries off the honors as heroine of these old tales.

The original narratives of the journeys of Columbus fill more than half the book. They comprise authentic translations of the articles of agreement entered into by "The Lords, the Catholic Sovereigns and Christobol Colon (as the Spanish refer to Columbus), which record Columbus' appointment as "Admiral and Viceroy of such mainland and islands as he should discover," and the grant of his titles "Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the islands and mainland that may be discovered," followed by the journal of the first voyage, a letter from Columbus to Louis de Santangel, letters from Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning the colonization and commerce of Espanola. Further on appears a most entertaining letter written by Dr. Chanca

on the second voyage, containing valuable matter in regard to the character and life of the natives of the West Indies. Later is given a narrative of the third voyage as recorded in La Casas' history—then a letter from Columbus to the nurse of Prince John, when the great admiral was being sent home in chains by the command of Bobadilla, the usurper of the governorship of Santo Domingo,—and, finally, another letter written on his fourth voyage. These highly entertaining narratives have been carefully edited under the direction of Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph. D., professor of history at Yale, as have also the available documents in regard to the voyages of John Cabot. The latter include a letter of Lorenz Pasqualigo to his brothers Alvise and Francesco, merchants of Venice, two letters of Raimondo de Soncino, agent of the Duke of Milan, to the duke, and, finally, a dispatch to Ferdinand and Isabella from Pedro de Ayala, junior ambassador at the court of England, warning them of the possibility of the Cabot explorers seizing some of the Spanish discoveries.

Throughout the perusal of the journals of the Columbus voyages one is constantly surprised and delighted with most interesting details in regard to the daily happenings that befell the voyagers, the character of the land explored, the appearance and manner of life of the natives and the quality and quantity of the natural products of the soil. Columbus was ever in search of gold, spices and precious stones. He pushed on from island to island in search of them, meanwhile becoming acquainted with the country which continued to be an unending source of wonder and delight to him, with its luxuriant growth of tropical greenery, unlike any European vegetation, while the climate in midautumn ever reminded him of "May in Audalusia," Spain. Like the Norse explorers he discovered that the Indians who swarmed around his ship were eager to barter anything they possessed for "red caps, glass beads to put around their necks and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see."

These original narratives offer substantial food for historical thought, rouse the imagination, convince the judgment, clothe with reality the hackneyed, briefly-stated phrases of the old history text-book and awaken a live interest in early American history. May the book be found upon many library shelves and find its way into many hands. This is the saw we have need of.

ROSE GLASS.

RECENT BOOKS.

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"Overland to Oregon," by Edward Henry Lenox, Oakland, California, published by the author, is a pioneer's story of the first immigration to Oregon in 1843.

Mr. Lenox as a boy of sixteen years accompanied the first emigrants to Oregon and leaves this little book of sixty pages as a tribute to the old pioneers. About half the pages are given to illustrations and an appendix contains the names of the first immigrants.

As an old pioneers' story the little book is of interest, but is of little historical value.

Harper & Brothers have added another volume to their heroes of American history series in "Ferdinand De Soto," by Frederick A. Ober.

"Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade," by John O. Casler, is the story of the daily experiences of four years' service in the ranks. The work is based on the author's diary kept at the time and deals with his thrilling experiences. It is issued by the Appeal Publishing Company of Girard, Kansas.

A little volume of reminiscences of Indians and pioneers and pioneer life of the Pacific Northwest has been issued by The Holly Press, Portland, Oregon. The author, Thomas Nelson Strong, entitles it the "Calumet on the Columbia."

Volume VII. in the English Church series has appeared from The Macmillan Company's press. It continues the history of the English Church from the accession of George I. to the end of the eighteenth century and is written by Canon John H. Overton and Rev. Frederick Retton. One more volume on the English Church in the nineteenth century will complete the series.

"The French Blood in America," Lucian J. Fosdick (Fleming H. Revell Company), is an attempt to give a comprehensive view of influence of the French Protestants in America in a single volume. Book one deals with the rise of Protestantism in France, book two with early attempts at colonization, and book three with the French Protestants in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and the South.

## NEWS DEPARTMENT

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### History Sustains Losses.

Since the last issue of this Quarterly the cause of history in the Northwest has sustained very serious losses in the death of the following: Edward Huggins, who was the last survivor of the Hudson Bay Company days on Puget Sound; Rev. Myron Eells, who was born and bred in the missionary epoch of the old Oregon country; D. F. Percival, who was one of the oldest pioneers of Spokane county; E. D. Warbass, who had served as Pickett's sutler during the military occupation of San Juan Island; W. I. Marshall of Chicago, who had for years been acknowledged as the best informed authority on certain phases of Northwestern history.

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### The Old State House of Massachusetts.

Thousands of people throughout the Pacific Northwest, either because they know and revere the Old State House or because they know and love General Hazard Stevens, will be glad to learn of the General's valiant services recently rendered in behalf of a proper care of that fine old relic of the Colonial and Revolutionary eras. Twenty-five years ago it was supposed that the old building was safely protected, but recently the Boston Transit Commission began to use its unusual powers to transform the old building into a depot for the underground railway. A storm of protest arose, and General Stevens found himself among the leaders of those opposed to this unrighteous vandalism. In the present session of the Massachusetts legislature an attempt is being made to rescue the old building. On March 8, a largely attended hearing was accorded the cause by the joint committee on cities. There were speeches and communications from representatives of many patriotic organizations. The meeting was in charge of General Hazard Stevens. A portion of his opening address is here reproduced:

"Any one conversant with the history of Massachusetts must be astonished on entering this hall, and beholding this large assemblage of the patriotic societies and people of the Commonwealth met to protest against further desecration of the old State House, and to appeal for the protection of law against



encroachments of sordid commercialism,—astonished that any person, or corporation, or commission would desire or would dare to assail this venerable building,—astonished that it should be necessary for the people thus to rise up in its defence. As the scene of so many striking and momentous events in the long struggle for liberty and national independence no other edifice in the country can compare with the old State House,—not Faneuil Hall, nor the Old South Meeting House, nor even Independence Hall in Philadelphia,—hallowed though it be by one great act, the Declaration of Independence. What a procession of Colonial governors, judges, law-makers, and Puritan ministers have passed between these venerable walls. Here was witnessed the overthrow of Governor Sir Edmund Andros in 1689, the first Colonial rebellion against royal authority, the precursor and prophecy of the great revolution eighty-six years later. Here Governor Shirley in 1746 planned the capture of Louisburg, forced the reluctant general court to sanction it by the majority of a single vote, and here celebrated the astonishing victory when the rustic army of farmers and fishermen under Pepperell returned triumphant. Here James Otis in 1761 thundered against the writ of assistance and fired the Colonial heart even unto rebellion. Here and then the child Independence, was born, said John Adams. A few years later the eastern front looked down upon the Boston Massacre. In this building Samuel Adams in the name of an indignant and liberty-loving people demanded the removal of the king's soldiers from the town, and royalist governor and British colonels faltered and gave way before his firm and fearless stand. And this was followed by another scene, one not less creditable to the men of that day, to their sense of justice and respect for law, when Captain Preston was tried for his life for the unfortunate slaughter of the citizens, defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, and was acquitted.

“From its tower, Gage and Howe, the British commanders, watched the first American army under Washington encompassing the town, beheld the batteries throw up in a single night on Dorchester Heights, now marked by the white monument on the apex of South Boston, and bitterly realized the necessity of surrendering town and harbor, and sailing away with troops and refugees and last vestiges of British rule, never to return.

“On the 18th of July following, from the balcony which then projected on the eastern front, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to the exulting people of this Commonwealth for the first time. And on the western front on Washington street, was received the Father of his Country in his first presidential progress with all the honors that a grateful and admiring people could bestow upon him who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

Hazard Stevens spent some of the most eventful years of his youth in this vicinity, where his father, Isaac I. Stevens, was

the first Governor of Washington Territory. In later years General Stevens has paid many visits to Puget Sound. So there are many here who will rejoice over the successful meeting in Boston, and who will watch with earnest care the outcome of this struggle in the Massachusetts Legislature.

### **Honoring Seward.**

The people of Seattle are determined to honor the memory of William H. Seward, especially for the wisdom of his statesmanship in consummating as Secretary of State the purchase of Alaska in 1867. A fine statue of bronze is to be made by Richard E. Brooks, the noted sculptor of New York. The idea was suggested by G. Benninghausen and the Seattle Chamber of Commerce at once acted upon it by appointing the following committee: Thomas Burke, G. Benninghausen, M. R. Maddocks, John H. McGraw, C. H. Hanford, W. T. Dovell, William Hickman Moore, Jacob Furth, M. F. Backus, Charles D. Stimson, Edmond S. Meany, F. E. Sander, M. A. Matthews, James D. Hoge, Philip F. Kelley and Joseph Shippen. Most of the money has been subscribed, and in addition to the sculptor the committee has selected Cass Gilbert of New York to design the pedestal.

### **Statues of Washington and Others.**

Lorado Taft, the sculptor, of Chicago, is hard at work on his plans for the bronze statue of Washington to be erected on the campus of the University of Washington in 1909. This work was started and is being carried forward by Rainier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The New York Society of the State of Washington has a committee charged with the duty of erecting a statue of John Jacob Astor, of which William Couper is to be the sculptor.

The Illinois Society has a committee for the erection of a statue of Abraham Lincoln. If possible this committee will secure a replica of Augustus St. Gaudens' Lincoln, and thus Seattle would possess the masterpiece of America's greatest sculptor.

## REPRINT DEPARTMENT

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In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

The value of the book we are here reproducing has been severely criticized by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. In a later issue his views will be given, but the editors believe that there is enough of value in the book to warrant its reproduction especially in view of the fact that it is exceedingly rare, and in view of the further fact that it is being quoted and criticised by different sides of the Whitman controversy.

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### THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

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By George Wilkes.

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[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

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#### PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

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#### THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.\*

In the month of January, 1788, two Portuguese vessels named the "Felice," and "Iphigenia," arrived on the northwest coast of North America. The former was under the command of John

\*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

Meares, a half-pay lieutenant in the British navy, and the latter was under the direction of William Douglas, also a British subject. They were engaged in the fur trade, and were owned by John Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao. As it is important to establish their nationality, it is necessary to state that they sailed under the Portuguese flag, and contained instructions to their commanders written in the Portuguese language. These directed them, in express terms, "to oppose with force any attempt on the part of any Russian, **English** or Spanissh vessels to interfere with them, and if possible to capture them, to bring them to China, that they might be condemned as legal prizes by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and their crews punished as pirates." This, of course, conclusively refutes the assumption that they were **English**. The first of these Portuguese vessels, the *Felice*, under the command of Meares, arrived at Nootka on the 13th May, when that officer finding he would need a small vessel for the shallow inlets and rivers of the coast, immediately commenced building one. Leaving a portion of his crew to complete her construction, Meares sailed towards the south to examine his trading ground. He endeavored unsuccessfully to explore the Strait of Fuca, and on arriving at the portion of the coast between  $46^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$ —the locality of the mouth of the Columbia—he sought for the great river which Heceta three years before had asserted emptied into the ocean in  $46^{\circ} 16'$ . Here he was unsuccessful again, and chagrined at the result, named the inward curve of the shore "**Deception Bay**," and the northern promontory of the harbor "**Cape Disappointment**," chronicling the circumstances in his own journal in the following words: "**We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Sas exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts.**" After his unsatisfactory search, Meares returned in the latter part of July to Nootka. In September following, the American sloop *Washington*, Captain Gray, anchored in the same harbor. The little vessel commenced by Meares had been completed, and received the name of the "**North West America**;" and the *Iphigenia*, the other Portuguese vessel commanded by Douglas, arrived on the 24th of the same month. Elated with the success of his enterprise, Meares transferred the cargo of the latter vessel to his own with the utmost despatch, and filled with new designs inspired by the result, set out four days afterward for Macao.

In the following month, the ship *Columbia* of Boston, commanded by Captain Kendrick, arrived at Nootka, and a few

days afterwards, the two remaining Portuguese vessels (the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America*) departed for the Sandwich Islands, leaving the American vessels to winter on the Coast.

Meares arrived at Macao in December, and finding that Cavallo, his owner, had become a bankrupt, determined to turn his information and position to the best account for himself. An opportunity was not long in offering itself to his designs. Two vessels belonging to a rival association, called the "King George's Sound Company," arrived at Macao under the command of James Colnett, another British officer under half pay. Meares immediately made overtures to an agent of that association, who came in one of the vessels (perhaps through some previous direction communicated by Meares, while all parties were on the N. W. coast together in the previous summer) to unite the interests of both concerns. The suggestion was adopted, the interests conjoined, and two vessels, the *Princess Royal* and the *Argonaut*, (the latter bearing Colnett, who had chief direction) were despatched to Nootka, with the intention of establishing a permanent post there for the transaction of their trading operations. Meares remained at Macao as resident agent, with all the affairs of the association entirely at his control.

In the meantime, Spain, who had heard with uneasiness of the movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific, began to be alarmed for the safety of her possessions in that quarter, and remonstrances were made by her to the courts of England and of Russia, against the encroachments of the subjects of those two nations, in particular. To more effectually guard against these transgressions, as well as to resist a projected seizure of Nootka by the Russians, the viceroy of Mexico directed a squadron then lying at San Blas, under the command of Don Estevan Jose Martinez, to proceed at once to the scene of the intended aggression.

Before the arrival of Martinez at Nootka, the *Iphigenia* and *North West America*, returned there from the Sandwich Islands, but in a most forlorn condition, the former being a mere wreck, and almost incapable of repair.

On the 6th of May, 1789, nine days afterwards, Martinez arrived, proclaimed that he had come to take possession of the country for the crown of Spain, landed artillery, and commenced the erection of a fort. This was the first actual occupation ever made of Nootka. The most kindly feeling prevailed among all



parties for a time, and the Spanish commander afforded the Iphigenia whatever materials she stood in need of, in order that she might go to sea immediately; accepting in payment, bills drawn upon Cavallo, of Macao, **as her owner**. This amicable state of feeling lasted but a week, for upon Martinez being informed that the written instructions of the Portuguese vessels, directed them to seize and carry to Macao any **English**, Russian, or Spanish vessels, they could manage to overcome, he took possession of the Iphigenia, and put her officers and crew under arrest. They were liberated, however, in a few days, through the intercession of Captain Kendrick of the Columbia, and the officers of the Iphigenia signed a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted in her operations, and that they had been kindly treated by Martinez during their stay at Nootka. Viana and Douglas as captain and supercargo, respectively, engaged to pay for themselves, and for Juan Cavallo, the owner of said vessel, to the order of the Viceroy of Mexico, her full value, in case her capture should be pronounced legal. Martinez then fully equipped her for sea, and enabled her to make a vastly profitable voyage; a circumstance which could not have happened without his special aid. Pretty lenient treatment for men whom he might have sent to Mexico to be tried for piracy, and a pretty hazardous policy moreover, when an additional force belonging to the same company was daily expected to arrive, which might have overpowered him, and reversed the case by sending him, according to their instructions, to Macao, to be tried on the same charge.

One of the vessels of the associated companies, the Princess Royal, arrived at Nootka on the 16th of June, and brought with her the news of the failure of Juan Cavallo; upon which, Martinez determined to hold the North West America (then there) as security for the bills which he held on the bankrupt. The Princess Royal was well treated by the Spaniards, and sailed on the second of July from Nootka on a cruise. As she was leaving the harbor, the Argonaut came in. Upon being boarded by the Spaniards, Captain Colnett arrogantly declared he had come to take possession of Nootka for Great Britain, and to erect a fort there under the British flag. This declaration, in connection with some insolent conduct on the part of Colnett on the following day, who even went to the extent of drawing his sword upon the Spanish commander, in the latter's own cabin, determined Martinez to trifle no longer with such intem-

perate offenders, so he seized the Argonaut, and subsequently the Princess Royal, and despatched the former, with the crews of both, to San Blas, Mexico, as prisoners under the charge of a Spanish officer. Those who were captured in the North West America, which vessel was merely held as collateral security for the obligations of its owner, were sent in the Columbia as passengers to Macao, their passages not only being paid by Martinez, but an allowance being also made them for their wages. Having thus disposed of his mission, Martinez sailed from Nootka for Mexico in November, leaving Captain Kendrick of the sloop Washington alone upon the Coast.

The Columbia, with the news of these circumstances, arrived at Macao in 1789, and Meares, full of his wrongs, immediately took depositions from some of the seamen, and posted off to London to see what capital he could make out of the circumstance. On his arrival there, he got up a memorial filled with the grossest misrepresentations and downright falsehoods, and adopting a new idea which probably had been suggested to him after his arrival, he asserted that in 1788 he had purchased a vast district of country from King Maquina, the monarch of Nootka, and that he had erected a fort there, with other buildings, by way of taking formal possession of the place for the British crown.

This remarkable document then concludes by praying for an indemnification of the losses sustained by the memorialist and his associates, through the seizure and detention of their vessels, in the very moderate sum of six hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars! This story of the purchase of a territory for the crown of Great Britain, by a Portuguese agent, in a Portuguese expedition, is peculiarly English in its extravagant pretensions. That it was the scheme of an afterthought is evident from a number of circumstances. In the first place, Meares in his journal of these voyages, written and published before the design of the memorial was conceived, makes no mention whatever of any such purchase of territory from the respectable monarch aforesaid; neither does he speak of the erection of the fort or the hoisting of the British flag. In the second place, he entirely overlooks these all important circumstances in the depositions which he took from the crew of the North West America previous to his departure from Canton; (none of whom say one word about them,) and in the third, to render the assertions of the memorial on this point more than questionable, he was able

to trump up only one pretended witness in the person of a common seaman to sustain them, and that too on the very day of its presentation to Parliament. It is a significant fact, moreover, that the King's speech which laid the grievances set forth in this memorial before the nation, makes no allusion to the seizure of any lands or buildings belonging to the British crown at Nootka, though that assumption found its way into the treaty framed shortly after; and it is a **positive** fact, too, from evidence that will hereafter appear, that there were no such lands or buildings there to seize. The British government, however, demanded atonement from Spain for these outrages on its flag, but though it prudently avoided representing the *Felice* and *Iphigenia* as British vessels, it was guilty of the monstrous inconsistency of claiming for itself the discoveries and territorial acquisitions of an agent and employe of a Portuguese association. By way of giving weight to its demands, the armament of two large fleets was ordered, and similar warlike preparations resounded through all the naval arsenals of indignant Spain. The latter, however, being disappointed in expected aid from France, and being embarrassed, moreover, in her finances, and in her foreign and domestic relations, was obliged to submit to the haughty terms imposed upon her. These are embraced in a treaty between the two high contracting powers signed on the 28th October, 1790, the first and second articles of which provide for the restoration of **all buildings and tracts of land** on the continent of North America, or the islands adjacent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed in April, 1789, by Spain, and for compensation for all losses by violence, hostility, detention of vessels, etc. The **third** guarantees the right in common of navigation, of carrying on the fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, and of landing on the unoccupied portions of the coasts for the purpose of trade with the natives, or of making settlements; subject, however, to the restriction of the **fourth** article, that British subjects should not navigate or carry on their fishery within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain. By the **fifth** these common rights of fishing, trade and settlement are extended to all colonies formed, or to be formed, subsequent to April, 1789. By the **sixth**, both are prohibited from forming settlements in South America to the south of those already formed by Spain, though the liberty of a temporary landing is allowed for fishing purposes. The **seventh** provides for the form of convention to settle

subsequent disputes; the **eighth**, and last, states that the instrument shall be ratified in six weeks, and the treaty thus concludes without making any limit for the duration of its stipulations.\* It will be remarked that this treaty, though humiliating to Spain in the sense of forcing compensation for the exercise of a national right, makes no concession of a single claim of sovereignty, but rather secures to her, additional advantages and protects her from further encroachments. The following language used by Mr. Fox, in the House, in opposition to "a motion for an address to His Majesty, congratulating him on the highly satisfactory issue to the late negotiation," etc., will serve to show the estimation in which the whole affair was held by the leading minds in Parliament:

"What, then, was the extent of our rights before the convention, and to what extent were they now secured to us? We possessed and exercised the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean, without restraint or limitation. We possessed and exercised the right of carrying on fisheries in the South Seas, equally unlimited. This estate we had, and were daily improving; it was not to be disgraced by the name of an acquisition. The admission of part of these rights by Spain was all we had obtained. It remained to inquire what it had cost? Our right before was to settle in any part of South or Northwest America not fortified against us by previous occupancy, and we are now restricted to settle in certain places only, and under certain restrictions. This was an important concession on our part. Our right of fishing extended to the whole ocean; and now it, too, was limited, and to be carried on within certain distances of the Spanish settlements. Our right of making settlements was not, as now, a right to build huts, but to plant colonies, if we thought proper. Surely these were not acquisitions.

"We have renounced the right of permanent settlement on the whole extent of South America, and where the admitted right of settlement on the northwest coast commenced was completely undefined.

"By the third article, we are authorized to navigate the Pacific Ocean and South Seas, unmolested, for the purpose of carrying on our fisheries, and to land on the unsettled coasts for the purpose of trading with the natives; but, after this pompous recognition of right to navigation, fishing, and commerce, comes another article, which takes away all right of landing and erecting even temporary huts for any purpose but that of carrying on fishing, and amounts to a complete dereliction of all rights to settle in any way for the purpose of commerce with the natives. In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered inestimable, and had in return been contented with dross."

\*See Appendix, No. 3.



In these opinions he was sustained by Grey, Lansdowne, and the other eminent Whigs of the House. This treaty, however, is made the subject of another flourish of title by the English, who insist that it concedes to them an equal right with Spain to any unsettled portion of the coasts. We have seen the opinions of the leaders of the British Parliament opposed to this assumption, however, and we shall shortly see its denial by Spain. But even admitting it to be so, they gain nothing by it, for in four years afterward a war broke out between the two contracting parties, which, by the rules of international law, annulled all existing inter-arrangements that had no prescribed limits and that depended for their continuance upon a state of perfect amity, and Spain resumed at once, whatever she had resigned by the Nootka treaty, if she had in reality resigned anything at all. On the conclusion of peace, the treaty was not revived; consequently it is a nullity, and all that Britain accomplishes by advancing her pretensions on it now is the virtual acknowledgment of the integrity of the Spanish claims which have fallen to us, and which she had so perseveringly endeavored to acquire.

This convention being concluded, the next thing was to take possession of the **tracts of land, buildings, forts, etc.**, wrested from Mr. Meares at Nootka in 1789, and the English Government in 1791 despatched two ships under Captain George Vancouver, to effect the purpose. This officer arrived at Nootka on the 28th August, 1792, where he found the Spanish Commissioner in possession and ready to perform his share of the transfer. Negotiations between the two parties were then opened, and it became necessary **"to ascertain what lands on the Northwest coast of America were in the possession of British subjects, and what buildings were standing in those lands in 1789, when the Spanish first occupied Nootka."** For this purpose Quadra applied to Maquina and his principal chiefs, who upon being questioned, positively denied that any lands had been bought, or any houses built by the English at Nootka in 1789, or at any other time. The Commissioner then applied to Captains Gray and Ingraham as well as to the Portuguese captain of the *Iphigenia*, all of whom happened to be there at the time. The two first replied at length in a circumstantial account\* (now on file in the office of the Secretary of State, at Washington), which, after explaining with manly fairness all the events that provoked the seizure of Colnett's vessels, contains the following paragraph:

\*See Appendix, No. 4.



"We observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here? We answer in a word—**none!** On the arrival of the Columbia in 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards **made by the Indians**; but this, Captain Douglas pulled to pieces prior to his sailing to the Sandwich Islands in the same year. The boards he took on board the Iphigenia, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the Columbia; **so that on the arrival of Don Estevan Jose Martines there was no vestige of any house remaining.** As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased from Maquina, or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any, although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquina and other chiefs since our late arrival if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound? They answered—**no!** that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land."

The statements of this letter were confirmed in all points by Captain Viana, and thus the scandalous falsities of Meares' unsustained memorial were conclusively refuted. Vancouver, who must have keenly felt the mortification of the dilemma into which the mendacity of Meares had placed him—"the tract of land" dwindling to a hundred yards square, and the "erections" to the remains of one miserable hut—had no resource but to break off the negotiations, and send to England for new instructions. Quadra offered him the small spot temporarily occupied by Meares, restricted, however, with the express understanding that such cession should not interfere with **the rights of his Catholic Majesty to Nootka**, or any other portions of the adjoining coasts; but this was refused by the British commissioner, who having sent one of his lieutenants off with despatches, sailed from Nootka on the 13th October, and left the Spaniards in possession of the port. In 1794 Vancouver left the Coast without effecting his object, and shortly afterwards, the Spaniards, thinking it unnecessary to keep up a military force at so inconsiderable a place, withdrew to Mexico. In 1796 we have the authority of Lieutenant Broughton (whose conduct towards Captain Gray we shall have occasion shortly to analyze) for the statement that in the previous year (1795) the Spaniards had delivered up the port to Lieutenant Pearce, who had been despatched by the way of Mexico to hasten the termination of the business. This account, however, is denied by Belsham in his

history of Great Britain, who, though a Briton himself, and tenacious of the interests of his country, says: "It is nevertheless certain from the most authentic subsequent information that **the Spanish flag, flying at the fort and settlement of Nootka, was never struck; and that the whole territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain.**" This is by far the most reliable story of the two, as Broughton says he derived his information from **Maquina** only, who handed him a letter (he does not say from whom) to that effect, in 1796; while Belsham asserts the contrary on the strength of his own inquiries and the pledge of his reputation as a historian. The latter's account is also the most probable, as Great Britain was at this time engrossed in a war with Republican France, during which she would hardly consider such an obscure and insignificant spot as Nootka, as worthy of so grave a notice. In 1796 Spain declared war against Great Britain, and all previously existing arrangements were rendered null and void.

Having completed the abstract of the Spanish title up to 1790, our attention is next claimed for an examination of the American discoveries, settlements, and purchases, which, in themselves, will be found sufficient to establish our rights to Oregon against the world. For the purpose of conducting the inquiry in a regular manner we shall have to turn a few years back.

#### THE UNITED STATES' TITLE.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the enterprise of our people turned immediately to commercial pursuits, and before three years had rolled over the Republic, her infant marine had plumed its wings on the billows of every ocean. As early as 1787 an association of Boston merchants despatched the ship *Columbia*, Captain Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington*, Captain Gray, to the North Pacific to be engaged in the fur trade. They arrived at San Lorenzo, or Nootka, in the latter part of September, 1788, where, as we have seen, they spent the winter. In the following year, Captain Gray, in the sloop, explored the Strait of Fuca for fifty miles in an eastwardly direction, and collected information from the natives on the shore, which brought him to the conclusion that the passage communicated northward with the Pacific, at an opening in latitude 51° which he had previously discovered, and to which he had given the name of "Pintard's Sound." This opinion was the first intimation the world ever had that Nootka was situated on an island.

An erroneous account of this expedition was sent to England by Meares, representing that Gray had sailed through and through the Strait, and had come again into the Pacific in the 56th degree of north latitude. This, while it proves Meares to be incapable of a straightforward story, also proves that he could not at that time have entertained any notion of claiming the island for the British crown, for such a report, by admitting the superior claim of another, is levelled directly against that assumption. Sailing north, Gray next circumnavigated, for the first time, "Queen Charlotte's Island," lying between latitude  $51^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ}$ , and believing himself to be the original discoverer, named it Washington's Isle. He was not altogether correct in this opinion, for its northern point had been reached by Juan Perez in 1774, and in 1787, it was visited by Dixon, an English captain, who, conceiving it to be an island, named it after his vessel, the Queen Charlotte. In the latter part of the summer, Gray, having completed his trading operations (rather unsuccessfully), sailed on his return to Nootka. The Columbia left Nootka in August, 1789, for Macao, with the officers and crew of the North West America. On her way out she met the Washington, when it was agreed that Gray should take command of the ship, proceed to China, and from thence to the United States by the Cape of Good Hope, while Kendrick remained upon the Coast. During the years '89 and '91, Kendrick ranged up and down the Coast, discovering many new islands, sounds and inlets; and in August of the latter year, he purchased by formal and public arrangement, and by regular deed, several large tracts of land near Nootka from Maquina, Wicannish and other chiefs of the surrounding country. This purchase is spoken of by several English writers, one of whom describes it as being in "**a most fertile clime, embracing four degrees of latitude.**" After making this purchase, Kendrick sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives, at Owhyee. In September of this year, Gray returned to the Pacific in the Columbia, followed by the brig Hope, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the Columbia. Four other American vessels, also bound on the fur trade, arrived shortly after, and with the Washington, made seven vessels in all, bearing the Stars and Stripes on the billows of the North Pacific.

Gray in his return reached the coast near Cape Mendocino, and sailing northward, observed an opening in the land in latitude  $46^{\circ} 16'$ , from which issued a current so strong as to prevent his near approach. Being convinced that it was the outlet of a

great river, he endeavored to enter it by repeated efforts, but being defeated through a period of nine days, he abandoned the attempt and continued his course to the north. In August we find him at  $54^{\circ} 30'$  north, where he discovered the broad inlet in the continent, now called the "Portland Canal," which he navigated in a northeasterly direction to the distance of eighty miles. In the meantime the brig Hope and the other American vessels were prying in every nook and inlet of the coast, in indefatigable pursuance of their trading operations.

The Columbia, after wintering at Clioquot, a port near Nootka, set out with her enterprising commander in the spring of 1792, to renew her explorations. It was about this time that Vancouver arrived upon the coast to meet the Spanish Commissioner, Quadra, who was already awaiting him at Nootka. He reached the coast at about  $43^{\circ}$ , and commenced a careful search for the river, laid down on the Spanish maps at  $46^{\circ} 16'$ . Like Meares, he was unsuccessful, and declares in his journal **"though he had sought for it under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, it was his deliberate opinion no such river existed in that latitude."** He sailed onward, and on the second day afterward met Gray at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, who in his good old ship had just left his winter quarters.

Gray informed Vancouver of his northern discoveries, as well as his discovery of a great river in  $46^{\circ} 16'$ ; upon which Vancouver abruptly told him he was mistaken, and in noticing this circumstance in his journal, very complacently remarks—"this was probably the opening passed by us on the 27th," adding—"we have now explored a great part of the American continent, extending nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, and have seen no appearance of any opening in its shores, the whole coast forming one compact, solid and nearly straight barrier against the sea." A little piqued at the Englishman's stolidity, Gray pushed on southward, determined to demonstrate the correctness of his assertions. In his course, he discovered Bulfinch's harbor, the name of which, in common with the appellations bestowed by him on his other discoveries, the British geographers have altered to suit their own purposes. On the 11th May, Gray arrived opposite the entrance of the river, and heedless of the risk, in his ardent spirit of enterprise dashed boldly through the breakers on its bar, and in a few moments slid out upon the tranquil bosom of a broad and majestic river.\* Gray spent nine days in it,

\*See Appendix, No. 5.



trading meanwhile with the natives, repairing and painting his vessel, and in filling the casks of the ship with fresh water from the stream. On the 20th, after having navigated it as far as the draught of his vessel would allow (between 25 and 30 miles) he named it after his own good ship, spread his sails to the wind, and beat out over the bar, against a head wind, into the ocean. This would appear to be pretty conclusive evidence of the discovery of **something**. But we shall shortly see that the diplomatic keenness which could perceive a most wonderful discovery in the mere sailing past a scallop in the shore, by Meares, crowned with the assertion that no river existed in that quarter, cannot find in the actual entrance of a river, in that very place, and in its navigation to the distance of nearly thirty miles inland, any discovery at all. As we intend, however, to claim it as a discovery, and to have all the rights and privileges flowing therefrom, we may as well here refer again to the rule that the nation which discovers the mouth of a river, by implication discovers the whole country watered by it. Applying this principle to our discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, we extend our own title with the limits of its mighty branches, from the 53d parallel on the north to the 42d on the south; and from their gurgling sources at the bases of the Rocky Mountains, to the resistless volume that swells the tide of the Pacific.

Having taken this principle as the rule of our rights, we will now briefly advert to the disgraceful attempt which has been made by two British officers to cheat Gray of his reward. As we allude to Vancouver and one of his lieutenants—Broughton, we shall have to follow their course for a while. We left them on the 7th May parting with Captain Gray at the Strait of Fuca, from which point they sailed in an easterly direction along its southern shore, landing once or twice to beat drums, blow trumpets and display flags and gaudy uniforms to naked savages, by way of taking formal possession of the country, in violation of the solemn convention whose stipulations it was their special duty to conserve.\* While they were thus engaged in amusing the innocent and unconscious natives, two Spanish schooners, named the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, which, under the command of Galiano and Valdes, had been engaged in a minute survey of the northern coasts, arrived in the Strait for the purpose of thoroughly exploring that also; and getting the start of the

\*An omission has been made under the date of 1790, of a Spanish expedition under the command of Lieutenant Quimper, which surveyed the Strait of Fuca for 100 miles, discovering the harbors which Vancouver in the above expedition named "Admiralty Inlet, Port Discovery, Deception Passage," &c.



Britons, they led the way along its northern course. A meeting took place between the parties, however, and to settle all disputes and jealousies, it was agreed to make the search in company. This arrangement was faithfully carried out; the parties entered the Pacific at Pintard's Sound, discovered by Captain Gray, and the territory on which Nootka was situated was found, according to his predictions, to be an island. The combined fleet shortly afterwards arrived at Nootka, when from the circumstances of the joint circumnavigation, it was called **Quadra and Vancouver's Island**, the first branch of the appellation being the name of the Spanish commissioner then at that place. We have seen that no arrangement was effected by the two commissioners, and Vancouver, in view of the hopelessness of forcing any advantage from the resolute Spaniard, prepared to take his departure. His preparations were accelerated into haste by being informed by Quadra that the indefatigable Yankee whom he had met in the spring, off the Strait of Fuca, had succeeded in entering the river, the existence of which he (Vancouver) had denied, and, moreover, that he had explored it to a considerable distance from the ocean. In proof of this, Gray's charts were laid before him. No man likes to be defeated in his prognostications and opinions, and least of all, an Englishman. In this case it will be readily imagined the rule was not softened with Vancouver by his rival's being from Boston Bay. Under these bitter feelings of disappointment and chagrin, Vancouver hastily set out for the river on the 13th of October—five months after the discovery—with Gray's charts and descriptions for his guides, actuated by the resolute intention of recovering his reputation by discovering it over again. On the 18th he arrived at Bullfinch's Bay, the name of which, maugre Gray's charts, he changed to Whildley's harbor, after one of his lieutenants. Finding on his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia that the draught of his own vessel would not admit of her entrance, he sailed on to the port of San Francisco, in California, detaching Lieutenant Broughton to the service. This worthy representative and coadjutor entered the river in the Chatham, on the 20th of October, (five months to a day from the time of Gray's departure) and there, to his surprise, found anchored the brig Jenny, of Bristol, which vessel had also got its information relative to the river from Nootka a few days before.

[Continued in Next Issue.]





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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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EDMOND S. MEANY

VOL. I No. 4

JULY, 1907

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
UNIVERSITY STATION  
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## Volume One Completed.

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With this number the first year of The Washington Historical Quarterly is completed. I wish here to thank all those who have contributed so cheerfully towards its success. The magazine has not become self-supporting. Mr. Samuel Hill and Judge Thomas Burke have sustained it thus far. If those who are interested in local history will renew their membership and invite others to do the same we will not need to impose upon the generosity of special friends much longer.

EDMOND S. MEANY,

Managing Editor.



The  
Washington Historical Quarterly

Volume I.

October, 1906, to July, 1907



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The purposes for which this corporation shall be formed are as follows, to-wit:

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# The Washington Historical Quarterly

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## RETROSPECT OF HALF A CENTURY.

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Having crossed the plains in 1853, while this was a part of Oregon, and arriving in Olympia in February, 1854, shortly after it had been organized as the Territory of Washington, I have thought it would be a fitting subject for this address to take a retrospect of the half century which has fully elapsed since I first beheld the placid waters of Puget Sound. During that period there have been striking events, and wonderful changes, not anticipated either in thought or dreams at its beginning. Some of the most important changes or discoveries have been made within the last twenty-five years, which, had they been even suggested fifty years ago, would have been declared chimerical if not absolutely impossible.

I doubt if there is among all the modern inventions and discoveries anything more wonderful than the growth and progressive development of the United States. In its earlier history, its life and continuance as a republic was gravely questioned, especially by European powers, who have since discovered that the infant they once despised has not only broke through its swaddling clothes, but has become a veritable Hercules in strength and in power.

Half a century ago the number of the States forming the Union was thirty-one. The last of these was California, which was admitted in 1850. It thus remained until 1858, when Minnesota was added. The following have been admitted since, in the order named: Oregon, Kansas, West Virginia, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, the two Dakotas, North and South; Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah. This last was admitted in 1896. These fourteen added in the last half century make the total number which now constitute the United States forty-five. Including the Territories and District of Columbia, the popula-

tion is now estimated at 85,000,000. The last census, taken in 1900, gave the population at 76,303,387. At the beginning of the last century it was only 5,308,483. By 1850 it had increased to 23,191,876. The rate of increase had been at an average of a little over 33 1-3 per cent. for each year. From 1850 to 1900 the average has been about 28 per cent. One cause for this lower average may be found in the Civil War, which occurred in this period, for a few years creating a temporary division, consisting on the one hand of twenty Northern, and on the other of eleven Southern States. This began in 1860 and ended in 1865. It resulted in striking the shackles of slavery from the limbs of thousands and the removal of the dark blot which had so long stained our national escutcheon. This deliverance was purchased at the priceless cost of the precious blood that was shed by thousands on either side. It is estimated to have cost the sacrifice of 300,000 lives and a loss of eight billions of dollars. The memories of the dead, their sufferings and their gallant deeds are brought to mind year by year as the blue and the gray meet together, and arm in arm take their part with a grateful people as they decorate the graves of the departed heroes. Nor will they ever be forgotten. Though tears may fall from many eyes as the loss of friends, of husband, of father or of brother is remembered; hearts will glow with gratitude to our Father above that we are a reunited people, and that the Stars and Stripes float proudly over "the land of the free and the home of the brave." It is considered in many respects as the most gigantic conflict of modern times, and as followed by one of the greatest marvels, that the great armies should so quietly have disbanded and returned to civil life.

The news of Lee's surrender to Grant on April 9, 1865, had barely been flashed over the wires when it was followed by the sad news of the assassination of President Lincoln, who had not been spared to see the full fruition of that for which he had prayed and labored. His name will ever be revered, and throughout all time will be associated with that of Washington, the one as the father, the other as the preserver of his country.

The use of steam power for navigation except on inland waters had been quite limited until 1856, although it had been in partial use from 1838. The first experiment was made in 1819. The expected event was thus announced by the Times, a paper published in London, England, in the issue of May 18, 1819: "Great experiment. A new steam vessel of 300 tons has been built at

New York for the express purpose of carrying passengers across the Atlantic. She is to come to Liverpool direct."

I further find that this steamer, named the Savannah, the first that crossed the Atlantic, was built at New York. Her engines were made at Morristown. She was launched on the 22d of August, 1818. She could carry only seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood. She sailed from Savannah, Georgia, May 25, 1819, bound for St. Petersburg via Liverpool. This latter port she reached on the 20th of June. The voyage thus took twenty-six days, and out of these she used steam eighteen days. The record is silent as to whether she continued her voyage to St. Petersburg. I rather conclude she did not. If she did, there is question if she has ever returned. Experiments were made at intervals up to 1856, when larger ships were built and equipped with greater power. I find the steamship Persia the only one mentioned in 1856 (capacity not given), making the time between New York and Queenstown in nine days, one hour and fifteen minutes. Up to 1860 there was a question of supremacy between the screw and the side or paddle-wheel, when it was decided in favor of the screw, so far as ocean navigation was concerned, both in the merchant marine and in naval construction.

I find two steamships recorded in 1856, the Persia and the Scotia, making the voyage between New York and Southampton, the Persia in nine days, one hour and forty-five minutes, and the Scotia in eight days, two hours, forty-eight minutes. The time was then gradually reduced until 1889, when the City of Paris made the voyage in five days, nineteen hours and eighteen minutes, since which date the time has hovered about five days.

Vast improvements in regard to safety and comfort of passengers, as well as increased rapidity of travel, have been, and still are, being made. It is confidently asserted that on most of the steamships the accommodations in the steerage are superior to those that were furnished some years ago for first-class passengers.

The Arrow, a vessel recently built in New York, is claimed to be the fastest steamship afloat, having attained a speed of nearly fifty miles an hour. She can be stripped and converted into a torpedoboat at forty-eight hours' notice.

The Minnesota, which we all know, is said to be the largest merchandise vessel ever built in America. Designed primarily for freight, she can carry 172 first-class cabin passengers, 110

second cabin, 68 third cabin and 2,424 steerage passengers or troops, in addition to a crew of 250.

Iron has taken the place of wood in the construction of large merchant and steamships for freight or passenger service on the ocean. Their masts are often iron instead of wood, as heretofore.

The day has come when boats, instead of floating on the top of the water, can be so constructed as to dive, swim and stay under the water, almost as long as the operators of them desire. The trial of one such boat proved so successful that the government had six more built.

Turning to machines of locomotion on land which have been constructed within a few years, the one which has been more extensively used is the bicycle. This had its prototype, which was used in England eighty years ago. It was a bicycle with wheels attached to a bar of wood, rudely shaped like the body of a horse, the rider sitting astride and propelling it with his feet on the ground. Some were a little more stylish, and so arranged that the front wheel might be turned by a handle. This was called a "nobbyhorse," sometimes a "dandy horse." I can remember seeing them when I was a ten-year-old boy.

In 1856 the Western Union Telegraph Company was formed by the union of two Eastern companies. From that time combinations and consolidations have been carried on and the efficiency of the service continually improved and increased. Its lines were not extended to the Pacific Coast until 1861. In October it was completed and in operation to San Francisco. In 1864 it reached Puget Sound, and now has its offices in every important town in the State of Washington, connected by 12,000 miles of wire. Its Seattle office employs thirty-five operators. It has fourteen dynamos, which supply the power that it formerly required 5,000 batteries to furnish. Messages sent and received amount to 5,000 daily, of which 500 alone are sent to Chicago.

The Postal Telegraph Company made its first connection with Seattle in January, 1887. It has in this State 1,060 miles of wire. It employs twenty-four operators. It has five dynamos, which supply power equal to that produced by 2,000 cells battery. Messages sent and received average a daily number of 3,500. It has direct connection with commercial cables, the Canadian Pacific Railway telegraphs, seven Atlantic cables and one Pacific cable from San Francisco to Manila, Honolulu and Japan.

I should have stated that the Western Union is so connected as to have cable service to all the world. I may also say that



these lines use the Morse code of signals, which consists of dots and dashes, so arranged as to represent the different letters of the alphabet. The experienced operator reads the messages thus sent by sound. So expert do they become that errors rarely occur in the reading. Sometimes in transcribing by the typewriter errors do occur. One rather amusing instance of this kind is reported, where a "t" was touched instead of an "r." Some friends on a journey, having arrived at their destination, desired to inform those at home of their safe arrival, and that they were all right. The message delivered stated "they were all tight."

The restless spirit of modern invention was not content with guiding the mysterious power of electricity both above and beneath the surface of the earth, when a proposition was started in England to join the shores of England and France by means of a submarine telegraph. While it was admitted that such an undertaking was possible, it was questioned whether it would be worth while to attempt it. It was alleged that "the injuries to which the wires would be subjected created an insuperable objection to this plan being carried out on a large scale." This was the condition in 1848. In 1845 an American newspaper had made a bold prediction that the Atlantic would one day be spanned by an electric wire. The idea was derided as extravagant. Nevertheless, many were experimenting in submarine telegraphy, but it was not until 1857, when Mr. Cyrus W. Field, at the head of a company, made the first attempt to span the ocean. This proved unsuccessful, as the cable broke in two places, which left 144 miles of it at the bottom of the ocean, thus rendering the whole worse than useless. But the projectors were plucky men and resolved to try again. The third attempt succeeded, and the first message sped across the Atlantic on August 6, 1858. This success was but temporary, and failed after having conveyed a total of 400 messages. It is somewhat curious to tell that the last word transmitted was "forward." It was not until 1865 that another company was formed, a heavier cable of 2,300 miles in length constructed and successfully laid by the Great Eastern in 1866, and thus secured permanent connection between the Old World and the New. Two other Atlantic cables were laid in 1874 and 1875, and a number of others since. There are at least two on the Pacific.

The greatest, the most marvelous wonder in this line is that of wireless telegraphy. Had it not been fully demonstrated it would seem to be beyond possibility of belief. Electric wave

wireless telegraphy may be said to have had its beginning when the great physicist, Michael Faraday, deduced philosophically the broad generalization that ether, which scientists consider to exist in, but different to, the air, constituted the medium by which, not only light and radiant heat were propagated, but electric forces as well. This was in 1845. Faraday and others conjectured that light from the sun and electricity were of the same order, only differing in degree—that is, in the length of their respective waves, whose velocity through space was the same, namely, 186,400 miles a second. Marconi in 1890 began some experiments in accordance with these views, but made his first experiments in transatlantic telegraphy without wires on February 25th, 1902, while on his way to the United States on board the steamship *Philadelphia*, and received signals at a distance of 2,099 miles, and worded messages at a distance of 1,551 miles. Messages are often sent now to passengers on ships several miles out on the ocean, so that it is stated to have become a regular experience on some of the Atlantic boats to see, as in a club, the servants carrying around telegrams and calling the names of the recipients.

Having said thus much in regard to telegraph, I need not say much regarding the telephone, as it is on the same principle, only that it conveys sound and enables two to carry on conversation even at long distances. This is one of the wonderful discoveries made within a few years. In 1876 Alexander Bell first exhibited the speaking telephone at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. It is this telephone which has been greatly improved which is now in common use. Edison and Blake have made additions and improvements which have been combined with it and makes it of general use. Communications have been held through it between Chicago and New York.

There are two telephone offices in Seattle—the Sunset and the Independent. The Sunset opened its office in May, 1883, starting with thirty subscribers. Its plant was destroyed in the fire of June, 1889. When it resumed it had 560 subscribers. It has built in this State 115,250 miles of wire. It has five offices in Seattle, including the main office. J. N. Cochran is the division superintendent, and J. B. Jansen manager. It has 1,027 employes and on June 1st had 23,500 subscribers.

The Independent Telephone opened its office in Seattle in 1902 with 2,000 subscribers. It has in all five offices in Seattle,

has 400 employes and has now 15,000 subscribers, and including its cable wires, about fifty thousand miles of wire in this State.

Vast changes have been wrought in the work of printing, especially as it is connected with the publishing of newspapers. The old Ramage press with which our early papers were printed has long since been laid aside, and displaced by the modern Hoe press, to which the name Perfection has been attached. Well may it be so called, for not only does it print the papers, but feeds them to an electrically controlled paper carrier, which carries and counts them, ready for distribution, to the mailing department. If no such improvement had been made, neither the Post-Intelligencer nor the Times could begin to furnish the papers which daily and weekly they send forth. The P.-I. has two condensed quadruple Hoe presses. Each press complete, carrying thirty-two page plates, will print per hour 48,000 eight-page papers, 24,000 of ten to sixteen-page papers, or 12,000 papers containing from sixteen to thirty-two pages. In its city deliveries the P.-I. uses seven special chartered cars, together with a number of wagons and automobiles. It requires 200 persons to bring out the paper each day; forty-nine are in the editorial department, sixty-eight in the business departments, and eighty-three on the mechanical side. Besides this the paper has a staff of special correspondents numbering 158. Its net circulation for May was 992,461.

The Times has three quintuple presses, which are the Hoe & Co. perfection presses, with which it publishes daily between 40,000 and 50,000 papers on an average; of the Sunday Times between 50,000 and 60,000. In December last its circulation exceeded 60,000. From circulation of less than 3,000, nine years ago, the daily has passed 40,000. Its consumption of white paper in 1906 amounted to seven million pounds. This paper costs 3 cents per pound. The circulation of the Daily and Sunday Times according to the "press report" for the year 1906 is given as follows:

Daily average for 12 months.....	42,172
Sunday average for 12 months.....	56,794
Average for both daily and Sunday.....	44,529

From the items furnished by both papers I have selected what I have given, which, taken together, show the extent of the work which is done by both.

The Times has over 300 persons engaged in the different departments of the office.

Besides these two, which are the principal papers, there are about seventy other publications, some daily, semi-weekly, weekly, semi-monthly and monthly.

The automobile needs no description from me. They make themselves generally known, but do not always obey or care even for the lives of those they carry. It is more comfortable and much swifter than the oxmobiles with which so many of us crossed the plains. Our pioneer brother Coombs tells the story of an old teamster who declared when he saw the first automobile in town that his horses, as they looked at it, laughed, congratulating themselves that they would soon be relieved of their laborious work. He does not say whether or not it was a mule team. If it was, I expect they would have laid their ears back and loudly hee-hawed.

Electricity is causing many wonderful changes in locomotion by the use of the trolley, furnishing facilities of rapid transit both by street car and interurban lines at very low rates.

In Seattle at this time we have not less than twenty-four street lines. We have also two interurban lines in operation and others projected.

When the early pioneers crossed the continent they found one serious obstacle in the way, which was then denominated "The Great American Desert." The geographies and atlases of half a century ago contained description of it. It has now disappeared, not only from the atlas, but from the face of the earth. I have endeavored to locate it, and conclude that a part of it, if not the whole, has been swallowed up by the State of Wyoming. That it was in existence in 1853 there are others than myself who can testify from their recollection of undertaking to cross a part of it, at least, by driving over it at night, so that the cattle should not suffer from thirst, as no water was to be found for a distance of some twenty or twenty-five miles. This was encountered soon after the Rocky Mountains had been crossed by way of the South Pass, and the Pacific Springs passed, where the waters divided, a portion going to the southwest, continuing down until emptying into the Colorado River, the other to the eastward, by the way of Sweetwater, discharging into the North Platte.

The plains, as they were then called, over which we passed, had their beginning as soon as we crossed the Missouri River, and did not really end until we reached the Columbia River, although divided at times by mountain ridges, of which the principal one was the Rockies. The whole may be described as .

wilderness. It had been described on the floor of Congress as an "interminable desert," with "arid plains" and "impassable mountains," reaching to a land that was "worthless," "not even worth a pinch of snuff," "the whole country irreclaimable, and as barren a waste as the Desert of Sahara." Out of this barren, desolate land there have been carved at least six States, which have been reclaimed and made fruitful by the labors of hardy pioneers and settlers, so that now it may be truthfully said that "the wilderness and the solitary places have been made glad by them, and the deserts to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

These States are now teeming with rapidly growing population, and are dotted on every hand with towns and villages, and here and there with cities of no mean proportion.

These changes and this progress have been greatly aided by the railroads which have been built, especially the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific, which have traversed this region, through which it had been claimed that it was impossible to construct even a wagon road. Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, declared that the idea of building a railroad to the Pacific was preposterous, and that were it even possible "the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient."

Now we have at least six from the Atlantic to the Pacific in operation, and others projected. It was not until the Northern Pacific was completed to the Sound that Washington began to grow. This was accomplished by 1885, and in 1887 it reached Seattle; since which time the growth of the State has been rapid. The entire length of the main line of the N. P. from St. Paul to Seattle is 1,911 miles. In this State it has nearly, if not quite, 1,200 miles, 400 of which is of the main line, the balance being made up by branches.

The Great Northern reached here in 1893. Its main line from St. Paul to Seattle is 1,828 miles, and it has within this State about 800 miles, 388 of which is in the main line.

Both of these roads have united in the building of the Union depot, which is an ornament to the city, a credit to the companies. It is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it has been built and for the comfort and convenience of the traveling community.

The facilities of travel, both on the water and on land, have been greatly multiplied. For a long time the only steamer on the Sound was the Eliza Anderson, which made only one trip a week between Olympia and Victoria. There were then only



the towns of Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow and Port Townsend, each with sparse population.

The trip to Portland, which is now accomplished by rail in about nine hours, used to require about three days. Before there were any railroad connections the land travel from Olympia to Monticello taking a day and a half, with part of a night, by stage, or more correctly, a mud wagon; the first portion of the route being by water to Olympia, and the last from Monticello to Portland by the Cowlitz and Columbia and Willamette Rivers.

Those memorable words of George Berkeley, the celebrated philosopher, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," written as long ago as 1730, are being verified in the onward march of our population.

The center of population of the United States has been gradually moving westward. In 1790 the center was twenty-three miles southeast of Parkersburg, W. Va. In 1890 it was twenty miles east of Columbus, Indiana, and in 1900 was seven miles southeast of that place. The Western movement in 110 years has been 513 miles.

When Washington was organized as a Territory it had a population of a little over 3,000. In 1889 its population had increased to about 300,000, when it was admitted as a State. It has grown, until in 1906, as estimated by State authorities, it had reached the number of 925,000. It is now by some authorities estimated to be about one million.

Fifty years ago there were no settlements in Eastern Washington. It was still in the grasp of the Hudson Bay Company, but on the discovery of gold in the Nez Perce country in 1855 and 1856, attention was so attracted that the tide of population began to flow in that direction. This has been greatly increased, and its agricultural and horticultural capacities have been marvelously developed, so that it has become widely known for its wonderful production of grain and its fine, delicious fruits. Its prominent cities are Walla Walla, Spokane, Ellensburg and North Yakima. Returning to the West, in addition to the towns already mentioned, as bordering on the waters of Puget Sound, have been added the city of Tacoma, sometimes called the City of Destiny, with a population now estimated at 100,000; Everett, near the mouth of the Snohomish River, has of late years sprung into existence, partly through the influence of the Great Northern, and bids fair to become a young giant before many years.

Its population is numbered by the thousands. Bellingham, formerly Whatcom, is growing rapidly.

In 1858 Seattle was a small village of not more than 150 whites. In 1860 it had increased to 250; in 1870 it was 1,107; in 1880, 3,533; in 1890, 42,837; in 1900, 80,670. Its population, as estimated by the Chamber of Commerce on January 1st, 1907, was 221,000.

The growth of the cities along the Sound has no doubt been much accelerated by the trade with Alaska, which has been pouring into our lap its golden treasure. When the purchase was made in 1867 from Russia for \$7,200,000, the wisdom of it was greatly questioned, for the general impression was that it was utterly worthless. Time, however, has fully justified the action of Seward by the revelation that has been made of its wonderful resources.

The Seattle assay office, since its establishment in 1898, has received and paid for gold dust to the value of \$139,353,686.31, nearly all of which came from Alaska. But its entire output was not received here. Much was sent to other places. It has other valuable resources than its gold. Seattle has probably been a larger recipient of benefits from this source than have other places. It has now twenty-two banks, in which, in 1906, there were deposits amounting to \$60,000,000, and the amount of clearances were \$485,920,021.

Seattle has about 120 churches and church societies.

The enlargement of the business of the postoffice and its multiplied facilities reveal perhaps as fully as does any other branch of business the substantial growth of the country. Having opportunity only to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the increase of business of the Seattle office, I give what I have been enabled to learn of its growth, while no doubt similar growth is to be found in the postoffice of other principal cities in both Eastern and Western Washington, with this exception only: that Seattle is one of the distributing offices. I give, therefore, the history of its feeble beginning, and its present capacity, and with this will close:

Until August 27th, 1853, the settlers in this region had to depend upon uncertain chances for either letters or papers. At that date national recognition of Seattle was given by the establishment of a postoffice, and the appointment of Mr. Arthur A. Denny the first postmaster, who opened the office in his dwelling house, which was a log building, situated at the corner of

what is now known as Marion and First Avenue. I learn from Mrs. Denny that a man had been previously employed to go to Olympia to procure whatever mail matter was there for parties residing here. He returned on August 16, and brought twenty-two letters and fourteen newspapers, but what was brought on the 27th she does not recollect, only that it was a very small amount.

I was living near Olympia when the first mail arrived from Portland and recollect of its being publicly stated that it was all brought in one of the mail carrier's pockets. I know that for some time after it was brought in an ordinary pair of saddlebags on the same horse on which the carrier rode. Many years elapsed before there was business enough to require any assistance. A few minutes were generally sufficient to open and distribute the mail. It was the same in making it up.

It is very different now. Mr. Colkett, the assistant postmaster, informs me that in addition to Postmaster Stewart and himself, both of whom are kept busily employed, there are in the main office 124 clerks. There are forty-one stations, with one clerk each, thus making the full office force employed 167. There are also 124 letter carriers and 12 special messengers, thus making the number of outside employes 136. This brings the total of officers, clerks and employes to 303. On an average five tons of mail are daily received, and from ten to fifteen tons sent away.

GEORGE F. WHITWORTH.

*\* Note.*—Agreeably to suggestions made at the time of delivery, I have amplified some matters then only hinted at, for which there was not time to enlarge. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness for help so kindly given by Chamber of Commerce, Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone companies, the P.-I. and Times, in furnishing information which I could not otherwise obtain; also to Judge Burke, Thomas W. Prosch and Prof. Meany, in addition to names which have already been mentioned.

## DANIEL WEBSTER, LORD ASHBURTON AND OLD OREGON.

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We are not accustomed to think of Daniel Webster as a diplomatist, but as perhaps the greatest orator this country has ever produced; as an eminent lawyer and the defender of the Union and the constitution; as a statesman whose influence was powerful in Europe as well as in America; and yet as Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Tyler he acquired in part his most substantial renown.

"In the two years during which he had been at the head of the cabinet he had done much. His work added to his fame by the ability which it exhibited in a new field, and has stood the test of time. In a period of difficulty and even danger, he proved himself singularly well adapted for the conduct of foreign affairs, a department which is most peculiarly and traditionally the employment and test of a highly trained statesman. It may be fairly said that no one, with the exception of John Quincy Adams, has ever shown higher qualities, or attained greater success in the administration of the State Department than Mr. Webster did while in Mr. Tyler's cabinet."—(Henry Cabot Lodge in *Amer. Statesmen Series*, vol. 21, p. 254.)

"At this time conflicts on the Maine frontier brought the (boundary) subject up in a manner not to be ignored. Popular feeling was at a high pitch. In this condition of affairs Alexander Baring, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Ashburton, was sent to America on a mission of friendship and peace. He was now to be received by Webster in Washington in the same spirit in which Grenville received Jay in London, when it was mutually understood that they would discuss the matter as friends, \* \* \* and leave their articles as records of agreement, not as compromises of discord."—(Stevens in *Amer. Statesmen Series*, vol. 13, pp. 349-50.)

### That Fish Story.

It ought not to be necessary to even mention that vagary of certain writers of our history (perhaps we ought to say of our fiction) which would lead to the belief that in 1842-43 Mr. Webster was inclined toward trading off the Oregon country for some fishing rights on the coast of Maine or Newfoundland; but even in 1906 this tale appeared again in a book entitled "Across the Plains and Over the Divide," by Randall Hewitt. This story first reached the public ear in the lectures of Rev.

H. H. Spaulding, an early missionary to Oregon, and of rather radical views, in the sixties, and was later used by Mr. W. H. Gray, in his history of Oregon, and in 1895 was heralded by Mr. O. W. Nixon in his "Saved Oregon" book (to say nothing of others meantime). All of these writers failed to substantiate their statements by reference to authorities, but in 1902 the story was given some color by the late Rev. M. Eells, who said:

"There was a fishery question which Mr. Webster had under consideration at that time. In a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Paige, August 23d, 1842, he says: 'The only question of magnitude about which I did not negotiate with Lord Ashburton is the question about the fisheries.'"—(Reply to B., p. 93.)

With the correction that Mrs. Paige was the wife of the brother-in-law of Mr. Webster, residing in Boston and at times in Nahant, we will examine this authority.

Now we know that Mr. Webster was an inveterate fisherman; indeed, he is said to have taught Mr. Grover Cleveland the art. At Marshfield he kept a boatman named Seth Peterson, whom Geo. Tichnor Curtis thus describes (*Life of D. W.*, vol. 2, p. 663): "Seth Peterson, a name familiar to all Mr. Webster's friends who ever visited Marshfield, was a droll, red-faced old salt, whose occupation, when he was not fishing or shooting with Mr. Webster, was what he called 'lobstering.' His usual dress was a flannel shirt, which might once have been red, but which wind, weather and salt water had converted into a nameless color; and pantaloons that had been patched until their original fabric and hue were quite undistinguishable. He was a quick-witted, humorous fellow, smart with his tongue, shrewd and good natured. He was him 'Commodore Peterson.'"

Now, in the negotiation of the Ashburton treaty both Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster became very much exhausted physically; their conferences and exchange of notes, informal and formal, covered the period from early April until the 9th of August, 1842, and we all know that the National Capital is not a comfortable locality during the summer months. Lord Ashburton was a man beyond his sixty-fifth year of age, and his notes to Mr. Webster toward the close of the negotiation speak pleadingly of the extreme heat and his exhausted condition. The treaty was signed on August 9th, President Tyler's message was prepared by Mr. Webster on the 10th, it was sent to the Senate on the 11th, and after discussion was confirmed on the 20th by the unusually strong vote of 39 to 9. Both the



negotiators at once prepared to leave the city. The quotation already referred to is found in this same "Life of Daniel Webster" by Curtis, vol. 2, p. 140, and given in full, reads as follows:

"He (Mr. Webster) left Washington in the last week of August to make preparations to receive Lord Ashburton at Marshfield, and to enjoy there the repose that he so much needed. Just before his departure he wrote to Mrs. Paige: 'The only question of magnitude about which I did not negotiate with Lord Ashburton is the question respecting the fisheries. That question I propose to take up with Mr. Seth Peterson on Tuesday, the 6th of September next, at six o'clock a. m. In the meantime I may find a leisure hour to drop a line on the same subject at Nahant.'"

Historians find no record of the fisheries as a subject of dispute with England in 1842, but in 1852, ten years later, Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State under President Fillmore, had correspondence upon that subject.

### Oregon Not In It.

Lord Ashburton had come to America empowered to agree to a settlement of the Northwestern as well as the Northeastern boundary. Just what his instructions were we learn from the "Berlin Arbitration," pp. 218-19, which was not printed for the public eye until 1871-72. So earlier biographers of Mr. Webster and critics of the treaty were not as well informed about the real reasons for the omission of the Oregon question from that treaty as writers since that publication have had an opportunity to be. The instructions admitted of no discretion on the part of Lord Ashburton; they permitted him (1) to offer the line of the Columbia River from its mouth to the mouth of the Lewis, or Snake River, and thence due east to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; or, failing to secure that line, (2) to offer the same line proposed by Great Britain in 1824 and 1827, namely, the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the northeastern branch of the Columbia River and down that river to the mouth; but (3) not to accept the line of the forty-ninth degree to the coast. Mr. Webster feared that any compromise on the Northwestern boundary would endanger a settlement of the then much more important Northeastern boundary, and furthermore, he understood and believed in the previous policy of the United States and stood firm for the forty-ninth parallel to the Coast; and with due regard to the proprieties of the situation, he and Lord Ashburton decided not to include that subject in the formal negotiations at all. These began June 13th, prior interviews and

exchange of notes having been informal. Mr. Webster is reported to have said in later years (Reply, p. 80) that he told Lord Ashburton that "the government of the United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine degrees and it never will." And it may be added that it never did. (The writer has not yet been able to find these words in exactly the connection given by Mr. Eells though they appear in a speech of March 30th, 1846.)

### **Benton and Webster.**

The leader of the opposition to the treaty was Senator Benton, of Missouri, and his speeches upon the Oregon question in its various phases as it came before Congress in 1842-43 contain much valuable collateral information. He could not see a single line in the treaty that was right and charged that Mr. Webster had yielded everything to Great Britain, as later in the British Parliament Lord Palmeston charged that Lord Ashburton had yielded everything to the United States. It was claimed by Mr. Benton (*Thirty Years' View*, vol. 2, p. 476) that but for his intervention the valley of the Columbia would have been divided in 1842, but this may probably be considered an extravagance of his later years. Mr. Benton was one of the "big" men of that period and (not unlike Mr. Tillman of our own day) was honest, but often violently mistaken, and he took delight in opposing Mr. Webster and in "twisting the tail of the British lion." According to his biographers a certain raciness was common to the latter portion of his public career and must be taken into account in his "*Thirty Years' View*," written during his last years and published in 1857. The fact seems to be that Mr. Benton was irritated at Mr. Webster because he was not consulted at all during the negotiation, as other senators undoubtedly were. In his violent speech in the Senate against ratification in August, 1842, he said:

"I speak in the hearing of those who must know whether I am mistaken. I have reason to believe that the treaty has been privately submitted to Senators—their opinions obtained—the judgment of the body forestalled; and then sent here for the forms of ratification. \* \* \* I interrogate no one. I have no right to interrogate anyone. I do not pretend to say that all were consulted; that would have been unnecessary. I know I was not consulted myself; and I know many others who were not."

In the session of Congress the following winter the Oregon

question was very prominent. Principal Marshall writes (Hist. vs. Saved Oregon Story, 1904, pp. 32-33):

"In December, 1842, Benton returned to the subject, and asserted that Webster had proposed to accept the line of the Columbia instead of standing firmly for forty-nine degrees to the Pacific. To this partisan accusation Webster could not in person reply in the Senate chamber, but, fortunately for the vindication of the truth of history, his life-long friend, Rufus Choate, had succeeded him in the Senate, and twice, on January 18th and February 3d, 1843, \* \* \* Choate, replying to Benton's accusations, said (on January 18th, as summarized by the official reporter in Congressional Globe, 27th Congress, 3d session, pp. 171-72): 'In commenting upon the speech of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton), who had preceded him, he took occasion to remove an erroneous impression, which, he conceived, was calculated to do a great injustice to a distinguished man, Mr. Webster, who could not there defend himself. He alluded to the fears expressed by the Senator from Missouri, that \* \* \* the rumor must be correct which had got abroad, that a proposition had been made or entertained by the Secretary of State to settle down upon the Columbia River as the boundary line. Now he was glad to have it in his power to undeceive the Senator, and to assure him, which he did from authority, for he had been requested by the Secretary himself to do it for him, that he never either made or entertained a proposition to admit of any line South of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as a negotiable boundary line for the territory of the United States.' On February 3d, 1843, Mr. Choate made another speech, (which was printed verbatim in Cong. Globe App., pp. 222-229), and, returning to the subject of Benton's accusations, he said: 'I desired chiefly to assure the Senator and the Senate that the apprehension intimated by him that a disclosure of these informal communications would disgrace the American Secretary by showing that he had offered a boundary line south of the parallel of forty-nine degrees is totally unfounded. He would be glad to hear me say that I am authorized and desired to declare that in no communication, formal or informal, was such an offer made, and that none such were ever meditated.'"

The dates of these denials through Mr. Choate are important to a proper understanding of Mr. Webster's position.

### The Winter of 1843.

The articles of the Ashburton treaty, after being signed by the officials of each government, were exchanged in London on October 13th, 1842, by Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Everett, then our minister at the Court of St. James. Lord Aberdeen on October 18th instructed Mr. Fox, then the British minister at Washing-

ton, to communicate the desire of Great Britain to open negotiations upon the Oregon question. (It will be noted that Lord Ashburton was still in America.) Mr. Fox made this communication to Mr. Webster on November 15th, and on the 25th Mr. Webster replied that the President already had this under consideration and that a further reply would be sent to Mr. Everett at an early date. That further reply was made on November 28th, and again in other letters during the winter of 1842-43. These communications were really for the purpose of feeling the pulse of the English ministry and were informal, not formal dispatches, and they can be read in the published correspondence of Mr. Webster and need not be reproduced here, but they show clearly that there were frequent interviews between Mr. Everett and Lord Aberdeen (and Lord Ashburton, who had returned to England in December), and to some extent the views of these gentlemen about Oregon. And they reveal the state of mind of Mr. Webster at that time, which was not of disinterest or opposition, but of indecision only as to what he could or should do, and his desire that the Oregon question should not be taken up by itself, but that other unsettled questions should be considered with it, such as navigation and commerce and the colonial trade. His final determination in the matter was that President Tyler should propose another negotiation, to be held in Washington, for in his letter to Mr. Everett on March 20th, 1843, (Nat. Edit., vol. 18, pp. 170-71) he says:

"I have already suggested to you the preference we feel for opening and conducting negotiations here. \* \* \* The British executive is a unity; ours, so far as treaties are concerned, comprehends the Senate as well as the President. It would be disastrous to negotiate a treaty which should fail of confirmation; and, therefore, it would be eminently advantageous to us to have points considered and discussed under such circumstances as should enable us to feel our way and ascertain from time to time what could be done and what could not. I have recommended to the President already to propose to the British government to open a negotiation here upon the Oregon subject, and the subject of some new commercial treaty, or arrangement; and I incline to think that the next opportunity of conveyance may take to you an official or formal offer to that effect. If it is delayed it will only be that we may learn beforehand what is the chance of success of the commercial part of the project."

This was probably Mr. Webster's last official act as to Oregon, for he was then preparing to leave the cabinet and did so on May 8th following. But on July 8th President Tyler was



still waiting, for in a letter on that date to Mr. Webster, he says: "I have nothing from England which gives us the hope that anything will be done by that government on the subject of a commercial treaty. Do you get anything on that subject?"

### Colonization of Oregon.

It must not be overlooked that the policy of the United States had been and was in 1842-43 one of quietly colonizing the Oregon country, and that Mr. Webster knew of what had been done in that line by the Van Buren administration. In the winter of 1842 the cabinet of Mr. Tyler (in which Mr. Webster was THE power) selected Dr. Elijah White, a returned missionary from Oregon, and commissioned him as Indian agent (the only official authority they could devise for him under the treaty of joint occupancy) and instructed him to get together as many people as he could and proceed to Oregon overland, and that in pursuance of those instructions, Dr. "White delivered lectures in various places, interviewed pioneers in Missouri and elsewhere, and soon had a company of about 120 men, who started from Independence, Missouri, in May and made a successful journey across the mountains." (Schafer Hist. of Pac. N. W., p. 176.) And in the winter of 1843 Mr. J. M. Shively, one of the organizers of the large emigration of that year, and afterward a settler upon the site of the present City of Astoria, visited Washington from St. Louis and asked the cabinet for a military escort for that emigration. He did not secure the escort, but his request probably resulted in the Fremont expedition of that year. (Letter of Mr. S. at page 351 of Rel. of H. B. Co. to Occupation of Oregon.)

### In Conclusion.

President Tyler had a plan of his own known as the tripartite plan or arrangement for joining the acquisition of Oregon with that of California, but this will not concern us in this discussion. Mr. Webster gave it some favorable mention in his letter to Mr. Everett on January 29th, 1843, but added: "These are only thoughts, not yet shaped into opinions." Mr. John Quincy Adams mentions it in his diary on March 25th of the same year, but evidently that was a circumstance of the political situation. Mr. Adams was not upon the most cordial terms with Mr. Webster at that time, but had to be treated with courtesy. This may be more properly considered in another discussion, when it will be proper also to examine the private opinion of



Mr. Webster as to the relative worth of the Oregon country, as shown by his letters and public speeches. That opinion was not a high one, but it did not influence his political judgment or his official acts.

This discussion should indicate to us that unless we consider Mr. Webster as actually mendacious (something quite foreign to his character) we cannot charge him with even having had in mind the bartering off or giving up of very much if any of that part of the Oregon country lying north and west of the Columbia river, and south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude, which would include a very valuable part of the present State of Washington. It has long been settled in history that after the year 1818 Great Britain never seriously claimed title to anything south and east of the Columbia River.

C. T. JOHNSON.

## JESSE APPLGATE: PIONEER, STATESMAN AND PHILOSOPHER.\*

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Mr. Carlyle once wrote as follows on the value of historical portraits: "Every student and reader of history who strives earnestly to conceive what manner of fact and of man this or that vague historical name can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a portrait, for all the reasonable portraits there are; and never rest till he has made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like. Often," he continues, "I have found a portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen biographies, as biographies are written; or rather, let me say, I have found that the portrait was as a small lighted candle by which the biographies could for the first time be read and some human interpretation be made of them."

The above sentiment appeals to me with redoubled force since the recent almost uphoped-for acquisition of a portrait of the man about whom I am to speak to you today.

I had long been convinced of the importance of Jesse Applegate's place in the early history of Oregon. The record of his activity as law-maker, and as a bold surveyor of new highways to the Pacific; the perusal of his brilliant state papers and other writings, create a desire to know the man as intimately as possible. Yet, because no photograph of him existed, there was felt to be an elusive quality about his personality which no amount of description by those who remembered him best could wholly dispel.

But in these latter days a kind of miracle has been wrought; for those who knew Applegate intimately before his light went out, nineteen years ago, one man, a natural artist, retained a mental image of him that has proved capable of reproduction with pencil and brush. And about four months ago this man, Mr. George Applegate, completed a portrait which those best able to judge pronounce an excellent likeness of Jesse Applegate. This picture, like the "small lighted candle," will help us to read the story of his life aright.

Jesse Applegate was a pioneer, for he came to Oregon in 1843, with the emigration which achieved the permanent settlement of this country. Yet he differed widely from the pioneer-

\* Address by Professor Joseph Schafer at the Pioneers' reunion, Lafayette, Oregon, June 5, 1907.

ing type as that type is commonly understood—I do not mean as it has been misunderstood by writers of old, well-settled countries, who are unable to appreciate the qualities required to make a good frontiersman. We think of a pioneer as a man of uncommon physical virility, bold, steadfast, resourceful, capable of enduring hardships; a man who often shows good natural powers of mind, but who is wanting in that training which is requisite to complete intellectual efficiency. We are not apt to associate with the physical and moral qualities that mark the typical pioneer the highest mental attributes. Were we to do this, the resultant product would be a man resembling Jesse Applegate.

On the physical side few men have been better adapted to the life of the frontier. He was over six feet in height, and well proportioned; erect, rather square, but muscular and very strong. His powers of endurance are indicated by the fact that he more than once walked sixty miles in a day without serious inconvenience, and that forty miles was light work for him. Brought up on the plains, he readily made himself an expert woodsman and mountaineer. During his lifetime no other man probably was so perfectly familiar, from actual experience, with the wild mountain passes and lonely forests of Southern Oregon. He had traversed most of them with chain and compass; through some he had piloted companies of troops, searching out the lurking places of hostile savages. He was alert in the presence of danger, fertile in expedients, bold but never rash. His knowledge of the character and habits of Indians was excellent. He knew when to trust and when to distrust them. In a word, under proper conditions he might have been a Daniel Boone. In some respects Applegate's pioneering labors were quite as arduous as were those of the great pathfinder of the Alleghenies. Against the "Wilderness Road" of Boone may be placed the much longer "Southern Route" into Oregon opened by Applegate; against Boone's piloting of the emigrants to Kentucky in 1775, Applegate's leadership of the equally critical emigration of 1843.

But while pioneering to Boone was the whole of life, to Applegate it was only one feature in a life that was remarkably rich and varied in its experiences. He was a pioneer because some of the circumstances of his environment made him one; he was very much more than a pioneer because he had easily overcome other circumstances which might have limited his activities to the pioneering field.

Jesse Applegate came of Colonial and Revolutionary stock. In a short sketch of him prepared by his daughter Sallie (Mrs. J. J. Long), we are told that his father, grandfather and two uncles entered the American Army from New Jersey. His father, Daniel Applegate, enlisted at Morristown as a fifer in 1780. He was then a lad of fifteen years. After the close of the war he emigrated to Kentucky, married Rachel Lindsey, of a well-known Kentucky family, and settled down as a farmer in Henry County, where he raised a large family. The youngest of his children was Jesse, born July 5, 1811. When the boy was twelve years of age, Daniel Applegate removed to Missouri, near St. Louis, where he soon afterward died. We would be glad to know more about Daniel Applegate, for if an inference based upon the characteristics common to three of his sons is a safe one, he was a man of no ordinary mold. It would be interesting to know his politics, how he stood on the absorbing questions that agitated Kentucky in the ten years following the Revolution; was he a nationalist, seeking to keep Kentucky in the Union, or a Wilkinson separatist, trying to keep her out? With what feelings did he regard George Rogers Clark's scheme to capture New Orleans in the interest of France? What were his reactions upon the neutrality proclamation of 1793? Was he Federalist or Republican? If we knew these facts it might help us to measure the influence of earliest environment in shaping the character of his son. It might be possible to make a close guess on some of these points, but guesses are not history.

Concerning Jesse's early education we know nothing, save that there is a tradition in the Applegate family that he became a village school master in Missouri at thirteen. The more important part of his training, however, came later. For, sometime during the twenties he came under the influence of the distinguished Missouri lawyer, Edward Bates, who afterward was Lincoln's attorney-general. Applegate seems to have served as office boy and clerk; but we have no definite information as to this period of his life. The important fact is that Mr. Bates took a deep personal interest in the boy, directing his education, and strongly impressed upon him many of his own positive traits of character.

The law office of Edward Bates, in St. Louis, became in a sense Jesse Applegate's high school, college and university. It was during this time that he laid the foundation for that broad and accurate knowledge of literature, history and general science

which marked him out later as one of the best read men on the Pacific Coast. He gained, also, some familiarity with Latin, and in some way, we know not how, developed a singularly pure, dignified and graceful literary style. He acquired in addition at least the elements of the widely different sciences of law and engineering, both of which proved of distinct service not only to himself but to the new community he was to help build beyond the mountains.

As already stated, we do not know with what sort of political and social ideas, prejudices and predilections Jesse Applegate came to the tutelage of Edward Bates. But we are at no loss to define the influence which this great jurist exerted upon him. Edward Bates was a gentleman of the old school. Born in Virginia, just at the close of Washington's first administration, son of a Quaker who had subordinated religion or patriotism only long enough to fight for his country in the Revolutionary Army, Edward Bates was nurtured in an atmosphere of conservatism. He went to St. Louis in 1814, carrying with him, as his public career shows, the political principles expounded in the *Federalist* and exemplified in Washington's presidency. If he ever attended to the more radical teachings of Jefferson, the influence was lost upon him. In the language of one writer, "He was wedded to the strictest rules of law and precedent." To him anything savoring of radicalism seemed, to quote the same author, "the herald of the trump of doom." Even during the most turbulent period of the Civil War, when to most men the saving of Missouri appeared to justify rather informal and strong measures, Mr. Bates found it impossible to overcome his ingrained hatred of political radicalism. "There is no such thing," he declared, "as a patriotic and honest American radical." The spirit of Washington's farewell address, which had fallen like a blessing upon his childhood, remained to sanctify the political griefs of his old age.

On one question Mr. Bates actually was radical, though he was doubtless unconscious of the fact; that was the question of slavery. He may have derived his strong anti-slavery proclivities from his Quaker connection, for large numbers of these people annually migrated from the Old South to the States north of the Ohio in consequence of the revival of slavery early in the last century. But the old school Virginia statesman, like Washington and Jefferson, were also opposed to slavery in principle, and since Bates removed to St. Louis at a time when such views were still current, he may have drawn them from that source.



Possibly all of Applegate's early political tendencies may have harmonized with those of Edward Bates; but if so, there can be no doubt that they were greatly invigorated by this intimate contact during the plastic years of youth, with so forceful and earnest a man. It seems to me that the association with Bates helps us to understand Applegate's strong views on government, as he afterward impressed them, through laws, partly platforms, and hundreds of personal or public letters upon the Oregon people. It helps to explain his passion for order, his punctilious regard for forms and precedents in legislative matters, his insistence on the nicest regularity, wherever governmental activities were concerned. His militant nationalism and his abhorrence of slavery are explicable on the same ground.

Bates and Applegate, though differing much in mental gifts, the younger man being more brilliant and original than the elder, were so congenial that a warm friendship grew up between them which endured through life. It is said that even while under the enormous strain of his cabinet duties, during the war, Bates never failed to write, each year, one or more long letters to Applegate, and no letter ever failed to bring a response. This is important, for it enabled Applegate, from his ranch in far away Oregon, to keep himself in close touch with the great currents of national politics.

Jesse Applegate made himself so good a surveyor that he was taken into the office of William Milborn, surveyor-general of Missouri, as clerk and deputy before he had attained the age of twenty years. He performed much field work in the southern part of the State. While out on one of his numerous surveying expeditions he attended a ball and there met Cynthia Ann Parker, a most estimable young woman, whom he married in 1831, and who, in becoming him wife, became also his life-long companion, counsellor and friend.

He now bought land in the Osage Valley and settled down to the life of a farmer and stock raiser. Twelve years later, the Applegates, with their family of young children, and accompanied by the families of Charles and Lindsey Applegate, with other neighbors and friends, left Missouri to go to Oregon. Jesse Applegate emigrated from the Osage Valley because of slavery. He had prospered in a worldly way; he had a valuable farm and many of the comforts and conveniences of life. But the inevitable operation of economic law was at work there as elsewhere in the South tending to transform the areas once occupied exclusively

by small farms and worked by free labor into the characteristic slave-tilled plantations, the unique industrial form under which the South was becoming unified. This process of unification always meant the elimination of two classes of the earlier settlers—those who could not own slaves and those who would not own slaves. Applegate was abundantly able to buy slaves had he chosen to do so, but he would not become the owner of human chattels. (I am told that he did buy for his wife a slave girl, but in order to rescue the waif from brutal treatment elsewhere and under a pledge of manumission. The girl, however, did not reach maturity.) For field labor he had to depend upon the expedient of hiring slaves from neighboring masters, no white laborers being procurable.

On deciding to go to Oregon, Jesse Applegate abandoned his farm, leaving a good share of the previous year's crop in the barns, and, it is said, the bacon of 300 swine in the smokehouse. He loaded four wagons with such provisions and other goods as could be taken on so long a journey, and gathering up about 100 head of cattle and horses, started for the rendezvous near Independence.

It is not my purpose to give an account of the journey, which has been frequently described; nor is it necessary to insist too strongly upon Applegate's services in bringing this emigration of nearly one thousand through to the Willamette. He was instinctively recognized by these Western men as a leader, and in the reorganization that took place just beyond the Kansas River, he was chosen captain of that part of the company which had the bulk of the cattle, the so-called "cow column." From Fort Hall to the Columbia, the part of the route over which no wagon trail had yet been made, Applegate is said to have been in advance, with his compass, to determine at critical points the course which should be followed. In this work he was greatly aided by Dr. Whitman, whose familiarity with the region enabled him to make valuable suggestions. In descending the Columbia with rafts an accident occurred and three persons were drowned. One of these was Jesse Applegate's eldest child, a bright, studious boy of twelve, named for his friend and patron, Edward Bates. Lindsey Applegate also lost a son at the same time.

Applegate settled on Salt Creek, then in Yamhill County, now in Polk County, where he remained till the spring of 1850. He did some farming, raised a fine herd of cattle, built and managed

a small grist mill, and worked much at his profession of surveying. He was one of the busiest men in the little colony.

But for all that, he would not neglect his public duty for his private interests, and in the summer of 1845 an occasion arose for giving a large amount of time and his best talents in the colony's service. The circumstances were as follows: When the 1843 immigrants arrived at the Willamette they found that the American portion of the settlers already in the country had organized a provisional government. They had adopted a body of "fundamental laws," and had chosen a set of officers including a three-headed executive, and a legislative committee.

The government was working badly for several reasons—because many desired no government at all, because of the clumsy provision for an executive, because the judiciary was defective, and especially because there was no compulsory or even coercive power to obtain revenue by taxation. The truth is, the American party had been only just strong enough to secure a majority vote favoring an organization and not strong enough to put in operation an energetic government. There had been 52 in favor and 50 against.

Moreover, there were several special interests in Oregon which greatly complicated matters. There was the Methodist Mission interest, the Catholic Mission interest and the Hudson Bay Company interest. The first two sought their advantage in the control of considerable bodies of land, and the "fundamental laws" permitted each of them to take an entire township. The Hudson Bay Company stood out against the provisional government on national grounds; it understood that the organization was in the interest of the United States and against Great Britain, both countries being at that time claimants to the soil of a part of Oregon. The arrival of the emigrants of 1843 altered conditions fundamentally. The American party was now strong enough to pursue any policy its leaders might devise. So, when the legislative committee met, in 1844, under leadership of the new immigrants, especially Peter H. Burnett, it was decided to put some vigor into the government. The question was how to do it. The "fundamental laws" had been loosely drawn and contained both constitutional provisions and ordinary statutes. Yet the whole had been adopted by the people as if it were a single constitution. It followed that if the legislative committee should amend any of the provisions which were in character merely laws, they would nevertheless be violating an instrument

which had received the formal sanction of a popular vote, while if they changed one of the constitutional provisions they would be doing nothing worse. The situation caused some hesitancy and much discussion. But changes were sorely needed, crops at home were requiring attention, the people were restive, the old government—one year old—was all but dead anyway, and doubtless the United States government would soon make Oregon a Territory. So they decided, in a very informal way, to regard the “fundamental laws” as mere statutes, capable of being amended at the will of the committee. A rigid lawyer might have had some trouble to determine where, under that theory, the committee had obtained its power to legislate at all. But in the true Western spirit, taking common sense as a guide, the committee ignored all such metaphysical subtleties, and proceeded to legislate. It reorganized the executive and judiciary, enlarged the legislative committee, revised the land law, cutting out the township gifts to the two missions, and provided for an effective system of taxation.

These sweeping changes were not submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, which was a serious omission. Instead the people were asked to vote on the question of holding a constitutional convention. Some interpreted the last proposition as a movement in favor of independent statehood. It aroused much opposition and was finally voted down. Many criticised the action of the legislative committee from interested motives, it is true; but there was so much in its proceedings that was irregular, if not positively illegal, that its work could not gain the general approval of the people. There was widespread discontent and ill will.

The new legislative committee came together June 24, 1845, with Jesse Applegate members from Yamhill County. Applegate had looked with extreme disfavor upon the proceedings of the year before. He was now to show what was his solution of the problem of creating a stable government for the Oregon colony. Since he completely dominated the committee, as the records show, he was able to carry out his views perfectly. This was his program: First, to revise the fundamental laws of 1843, which had been adopted by popular vote, making the document a true constitution. The revision was made with his own hand, other members of the committee apparently making only a few minor suggestions. Next, this new instrument, together with the earlier one which it was intended to supplant must be submitted to the



people, who were to choose between them. This was done and the people chose Applegate's constitution. The legislative committee, on Applegate's motion, had adjourned to await the decision on this question, and also on the question submitted at the same time, whether or not the officers chosen at the June election should be regarded as legally qualified officers under the new constitution. This question being also decided affirmatively, on the 5th of August, after a recess of just one month, the legislature met again at Oregon City and proceeded with its business.

At the opening of the June session Applegate had proposed a form of oath for the members in such terms as to indicate that the Oregon government reserved to Englishmen who might be under its jurisdiction the same paramount right of allegiance to their government that Americans claimed for themselves. "I do solemnly swear that I will support the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon, so far as the said organic laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain. \* \* \*" He had aided in preventing the radical Americans from declaring illegal the election of Francis Ermatinger, a British subject, as Treasurer of the colony; and he had introduced a resolution declaring: "That this government has no power to annul a contract entered into either in the United States or Great Britain."

The way was thus prepared for what was perhaps Applegate's most cherished object, namely, the union of the Hudson Bay Company with the Americans under the terms of a provisional constitution. Applegate discussed the matter with McLaughlin, who at first protested against the plan, but was finally convinced by Applegate's arguments that such a union would be to the advantage of both parties, and especially to the company, which stood in need of the government's protection.

About the middle of August, as the result of Applegate's triumphant diplomacy, the officers of the Hudson Bay Company formally gave in their adherence to the provisional government, agreeing to accept its jurisdiction, to pay taxes for its support, and in all respects to abide by its constitution and the laws made in accordance therewith. It was a notable achievement, bringing to an end as it did the dual jurisdiction which had subsisted for several years, and demonstrating to the world that at last the occupation of Oregon by Americans was a fact accomplished.

Lieutenant Henry Warren, British military officer, sent from Canada by government order in the spring of 1845 to report on



conditions in Oregon, reached Vancouver a few days after this settlement had been effected. He was deeply impressed by it, and wrote: "The Hudson Bay Company were so completely overruled by a number of Americans that they (the company) were obliged to join in this contract (the provisional government) which neutralized their authority in the country where they had been long respected by the native tribes, and obliged them to subscribe to the laws of the very people whose settlement and occupation of the land they contributed so generously and largely to effect."

Thus Oregon was at last—and for the first time—under a secure and efficient government. All interests had been subjected to its jurisdiction, all factional opposition eliminated. It was a government that commanded universal respect, secured equal justice and fostered the prosperity of the colony. Its success may have had, also, a large influence upon the settlement of the boundary question between Great Britain and the United States. This government remained in full operation without the necessity of further amendment down to March 3, 1849, when General Joseph Lane proclaimed Oregon a Territory of the United States. In the light of this recital of facts it seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the boon of good government was conferred upon the Oregon people by the representative from Yamhill, Jesse Applegate.

Applegate's activities during the brief sessions of June and August, 1845, are partly revealed by an examination of those mysterious looking boxes of manuscripts preserved in the Secretary of State's office, and labeled "provisional government." In his handwriting, unless I greatly err, are the new constitution, a memorial to Congress, and more than one-half of the considerable body of laws passed in that year. With rare and slight exceptions, the form is faultless and the substance true. Thomas H. Benton, in presenting to the Senate the memorial of 1845, took occasion to commend it as a document which reflected high credit upon the American citizens living in Oregon. Before the adoption of the organic laws, Applegate put through the Legislature a resolution, declaring "that this government can recognize the right of one person to the services of another only upon bona fide contract, made and entered into, and equally binding upon both parties." This expresses his views on slavery. He maneuvered successfully to kill a bill for granting a certain petitioner a divorce from his wife. On the 11th of August he in-

troduced the famous bill against duelling. The statement of the matter in the journal is as follows: "The rules were suspended to allow Mr. Applegate to present a bill to prevent duelling; read three times and passed. On motion of Mr. Applegate, said bill was ordered to be forwarded to the executive for his approval forthwith. The speaker appointed P. G. Stewart special messenger for that purpose. The bill was returned to the House with the approval of the executive." Mr. Gray says it became a law in half an hour's time from its introduction in the House. Yet, the original bill as it reposes in the archives, bears no evidence of haste. It is written in the same round, bold, clear hand with Applegate's other formal papers.

The history back of its introduction is simple. Two young men had gotten into an altercation, which it seemed to them could be settled honorably only according to the code. Applegate was resolved to save them from the consequences of their own folly, and to save Oregon from the disgrace of a duel; so he hurried off to the House and had his law passed in time to prevent it.

Having gotten the government into good working order, Applegate left orders to operate it, while he devoted his energies to other matters. In 1846 he surveyed that long and intricate wagon road from the Willamette Valley to Fort Hall, by way of the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers and Klamath Lake. When the Whitman massacre was reported at Oregon City in December, 1847, Applegate came forward again, as he always did in great emergencies. He held no public post at that time, yet the journal of the Legislature reveals his agency in devising plans for the defense of the country. This is the record:

"Dec. 10. The Speaker announced a communication from Jesse Applegate, urging the necessity of sending, forthwith, a special messenger to the United States, read and referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. Nesmith, Wair and Meek." The committee promptly reported in favor of the plan, and it was arranged to send Joe Meek to Washington with dispatches and a memorial to Congress. This memorial was without doubt penned by Jesse Applegate, and is, in my estimation, one of the finest papers ever produced west of the Rocky Mountains. Two or three paragraphs must suffice to illustrate its superlative literary merit:

"Having called upon the government so often in vain, we have almost despaired of receiving its protection, yet we trust

that our present situation, when fully laid before you, will at once satisfy your honorable body of the necessity of extending the strong arm of guardianship and protection over this distant but beautiful portion of the United States' domain. Our relations with the proud and powerful tribes of Indians residing east of the Cascade Mountains, hitherto uniformly amicable and pacific, have recently assumed quite a different character. They have shouted the warwhoop and crimsoned their tomahawks in the blood of our citizens. \* \* \* Circumstances warrant your memorialists in believing that many of the powerful tribes \* \* \* have formed an alliance for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against our settlements. \* \* \* To repel the attacks of so formidable a foe, and protect our families and property from violence and rapine, will require more strength than we possess. \* \* \* We have a right to expect your aid, and you are in justice bound to extend it. \* \* \* If it be at all the intention of our honored parent to spread her guardian wings over her sons and daughters in Oregon, she surely will not refuse to do so now, when they are struggling with all the ills of a weak and temporary government, and when perils are daily thickening around them and preparing to burst upon their heads. When the ensuing summer's sun shall have dispelled the snow from the mountains we shall look with glowing hopes and restless anxiety for the coming of your laws and your arms."

Applegate's public career, after the Cayuse War, in which he performed valuable services as chairman of the loan commission, can be quickly summarized. He was in the Legislature just once as representative from Polk County in 1849. This was the last session under the provisional government and little was done as compared with the sessions of 1845. In 1857 he was a member of the convention to frame a constitution for the State of Oregon, but for some reason not yet fully explained he went home before its work was finished. He had gone to the Umpqua Valley to live in 1850. There he developed an attractive and valuable property in the form of a large farm and stock ranch. His great house at the foot of Mount Yoncalla was one of the finest country houses in Oregon. It was a large, well-built, roomy mansion, and was for the time elegantly furnished; it was one of the few houses that could boast a parlor melodeon. But to the student of Applegate's life and character it is yet more interesting to note that this home contained a large, well assorted and well used library. His collection of books has been in part

destroyed and in part scattered; but there is evidence to show that it contained some two or three thousand volumes and that it was especially rich in the departments of general literature, history, science and the public documents illustrating the political development of the United States. He had the records of the American Congress complete, I am told, for the year 1789. His historical equipment included such important sets as Gibbon, Hallam, Hume, Allison, Macaulay, Prescott, Motley, Carlyle, Hildreth, Bancroft, together with numerous less extensive works.

The man who would have such a library shipped around Cape Horn to Oregon, as Applegate did, has a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as a scholar, or at least as a philosopher, in the earliest meaning of that term. And Jesse Applegate was a philosopher in the same sense in which Jefferson was one—a man who loved all knowledge and tried earnestly to master the outlines of all true sciences. His keen analytical mind, tenacious memory and extraordinary intellectual activity, with the aid of his fine library, made possible to him a degree of learning to which few aside from professional scholars ever attained. He was known as the “Sage of Yoncalla.”

Applegate took the keenest interest in all local, state and national political problems, as is demonstrated by scores of public and private letters, the party platforms he indicted, and the numerous series of resolutions he presented to political conventions. He remained to his extreme old age a force to be reckoned with in Oregon politics. Once he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate; again, it is said on the best authority, a certain “boss” offered to procure him the senatorship on certain conditions, but Applegate unhesitatingly spurned the offer.

Everything he wrote on politics has now at least an historical interest, while his marvelously lucid and original style invests every subject, however seemingly commonplace, with an interest on its own account. But his rank as a political philosopher is best determined from a series of letters on the subject of reconstruction, which he wrote in the fall of 1865 at the request of Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Those four letters, amounting to a little less than four newspaper columns, were printed in the Oregon State Journal, from which they were recently copied with the editor's permission. They reveal a profound insight into the governmental system, a steadfast affection for the constitution with its many superlative excel-



lencies, and also—which is a much rarer virtue—a true appreciation of its defects. “The constitution of the United States,” he says, “has been rightly called ‘the greatest monument of human wisdom;’ it has secured civil and religious rights of self-government to a great nation, and though constrained by the necessity of harmonizing conflicting opinions and reconciling opposite interests, the convention devised machinery to effect these great objects that have stood the test of nearly eighty years—a period in which man has progressed more mentally and physically than in many centuries of any prior epoch. It is therefore no disparagement to the wisdom and patriotism of its immortal framers if, after the people to be governed by the constitution have increased tenfold, and spread themselves from ocean to ocean, and the interests it was to foster have grown and diversified in far greater proportions, that under the severe strain of a bloody civil war some parts of its machinery have proved defective and others obsolete by the changes wrought by it.”

He then proceeds to show that some provisions need to be added to the constitution and others withdrawn from it, and suggests that the work could be best done by a convention. He thinks the fathers were a trifle inconsistent in announcing, as a philosophical maxim, the right of any people, at its own will, to “alter or abolish” its system of government, and then to hedge their constitution with so many restraints upon amendment, as if, after all, they did not trust the people to make their own fundamental laws. “If,” said he, “the right to choose a form of government was the right of our ancestors, it is ours, and will descend to posterity, and anything we may do to take away that right will be impotent.” \* \* \* “The only difference I would make between an organic and a statute law would be that the organic should be the act of the people, the statute the act of their representatives.” He would have one or both houses of Congress, as a kind of convenient committee, report from time to time such amendments as seemed advisable, and have the people vote upon them at the regular elections. This change in the method of amending the constitution was the essential positive proposal of his first letter.

In the second letter he discusses the general relation of the nation and the States, shows historically that the “purposes of the constitution ‘to establish justice’ and ‘secure liberty’ have in a great measure been defeated by the State governments.” \* \* \* He would make some changes in the interest of more perfect



harmony of action of the two governments, to be brought about by emphasizing the federal supremacy. Extreme brevity in the discussion leaves some doubt as to the precise remedies he proposes to employ. But he sums the matter up by saying: "In short, I would take nothing from the State useful to its people, nor leave any power with it that could be used to the prejudice of the Union."

The third letter deals with citizenship and suffrage. These were questions that Applegate had pondered deeply, upon which his convictions were especially strong; and since his discussion reached to the settlement of the States of the negro citizen, it became at once the most practical and interesting feature in the series. The framers of the constitution, he thinks, acted quite inconsistently when they granted exclusive power to determine who should be citizens of the nation, yet left to the State's exclusive power to determine who among the citizens should exercise the voting power, which is the most characteristic and most sovereign function of citizenship. "Without the power to say who shall wield the sovereignty," he declares, "the purposes of the constitution, to establish justice and secure liberty are failures, and the Union itself is a rope of sand;" for the two great sections had been drifting in opposite directions, the one toward complete democracy, the other toward aristocracy, and this tendency would be likely to continue. Applegate stood for a suffrage that should be theoretically universal. "Every member of the commonwealth, no matter of which sex, what color, or where born, if free from the tutelage imposed by the domestic relations should have the right to vote, if morally and mentally qualified to do so. "I say the right," he adds, "not the privilege, because he, or she, who obeys the laws, pays taxes, or renders bodily service to the government has a right to be heard in its administration.

"But the American citizen who exercises the elective franchise is clothed with high duties and responsibilities, and the divine injunction that binds him to 'care for his own household applies with equal force to his duty to his school district, town, county, state, and lastly, to the Union; and though the numbers increase who share his responsibilities as he rises in the political circles that surround him, yet he is as much bound morally, and should be lawfully, to discharge his duties in each relation as if the whole responsibility rested upon him alone. It should

be no excuse for non-performance or neglect of public duty because thousands or millions were equally responsible.

"I should therefore require that the voter be of good moral character, that he clearly understand our system of government, and the responsibilities he took upon himself as one of its rulers. I would bind him in an oath of fidelity to it, and to cast his vote in all cases for that man or that measure that he, in his judgment and his conscience, believed would be to promote the public good; and that in casting his vote he would not be influenced by personal friendship, or any advantage to himself individually. I would have a commission (federal commission, of course) to examine and pass upon the qualifications of candidates for the right of suffrage, and those found to possess the requisite capacity and honesty, should upon taking the required oath receive a diploma, which (until forfeited by crime) should entitle him to vote at any election held in any part of the Union where he resides or might reside. \* \* \* I would make the examination of candidates for these diplomas of citizenship as searching and impressive as possible—not a mere form, but an actual test of merit. I would have the young men of our country feel that to be a citizen of this great and free nation was an honor worth contending for; and as the disappointed might again enter the lists at pleasure, it would not only greatly encourage the growth of political knowledge among the people, but have a beneficial effect upon their morals also." No one can doubt, after reading this letter, that, as he says at its close, his "heart" was "very much in the matter of which it treats."

The fourth letter dealt with the problem of the negro from the social and racial viewpoints. He believed that it would be best for both races that the negro should live in separate communities. Yet, he says: "If we retain him among us, for our own good as well as his, we must make him like Onesmus, 'a brother and an equal.'"

"But it is not among the rights he is entitled to that his sons shall marry our daughters, or that our sons shall marry his; a power higher than man's has forbidden such connection, and man must respect His decrees or suffer the penalty."

I wish it were possible to give you, in a summary, a more adequate idea of the incisive way in which he treats this race problem. But time forbids. I must, however, say a few words about the fate of these letters as a whole. They were sent to Schuyler Colfax just before the opening of the first session of the

Thirty-ninth Congress, which wrestled with the reconstruction problem. We know that Colfax was impressed with the importance of some of Applegate's ideas on the subject, for it was after a brief conversation with Applegate in the summer of 1865 that he requested the more complete written statement. It is probable that Colfax submitted these letters to the joint committee on reconstruction; and there is evidence that the committee at least considered the proposing of a constitutional amendment along the lines of Applegate's third letter, namely, to take the control of suffrage from the State and give it to the national government. The idea was abandoned, because, as the committee reported, "it was doubtful \* \* \* whether the States would consent to surrender a power they had always exercised, and to which they were attached." The Applegate idea of federal control of suffrage with an educational test was advocated by Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican, who had called on Applegate in company with Colfax, and also by the New York Nation. Had the committee seen its way clear to recommend it as the Fourteenth Amendment, instead of the non-workable scheme they did propose, it is at least allowable to conjecture that the results would have been beneficial. There would then have been no need of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the problem of the negro vote would have been settled at the outset on right principles.

No judgment is here expressed as to the practicality of other parts of Applegate's reconstruction plan; but in my estimation, these letters give to the "Sage of Yoncalla" a place among the profound political thinkers of his age.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

## WILLIAM CLARK: SOLDIER, EXPLORER, STATESMAN

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About the year 1630, a trifle less than a quarter of a century after the planting of Jamestown colony, one John Clark, a recent immigrant from England, settled upon the James River in Virginia. We have little knowledge of his antecedents in the Old World, but he himself appears soon to have become a successful tobacco planter; his descendants were colonials of considerable social and political prominence, and affiliated by marriage with some of the best blood of Virginia.

Americans of the seventeenth century, especially those south of New England, were not wide travelers. Roads were crude, bridges few, settlements and even farmsteads wide apart—practically none stirred far from home, save officials, land speculators, fur-traders, raisers of half-wild forest cattle, and a few well-to-do young fellows in whose veins strongly coursed the wanderlust of our Teutonic race, and who must have their outing before settling down into the humdrum of business, professional or plantation life. A few years after his settlement, John Clark appears to have made what was then a notable journey into the neighboring colony of Maryland, where he wooed and married “a red-haired Scotch lady” who had relatives in the Virginia county of King and Queen, wherein was Clark’s evidently small plantation.\* In later marriages, during successive generations of Clarks, Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood was freely mingled with the pure English strain that John Clark had brought to the James—a fusion such as has given to the history of American pioneering heroes and heroines for many of its most glowing chapters.

This John Clark, great-grandfather of George Rogers and William, left one son, who in due course married, but early departed this life, leaving a widow and two sons, John 2d and Jonathan. In 1725 the latter married Elizabeth Wilson, the daughter of an English Quaker settler of King and Queen County. Nine years later he in turn died, survived by a well-provided family of two sons and two daughters, of whom the oldest child was John 3d (born October 9, 1726), father of the man whose services to civilization we have to-day formally recognized.<sup>1</sup>

\* Correspondence of Col. John O’Fallon, of St. Louis, quoted in Draper MS, 1J37, in Wisconsin Historical Library.

<sup>1</sup> The widow of Jonathan Clark subsequently married one Richards, whom she survived. About 1783, when at an advanced age, she died at the residence of her son, John 3d, in Caroline County.

John 3d married (1749) his second cousin, Ann Rogers—"an amiable young lady of about sixteen," an old chronicler tells us—who on her mother's side was related to the celebrated Byrd family of Westover. John and Ann began their career in a rude cabin topping a height of ground on the western frontier of Albemarle County, quite near the plantation of Mrs. Clark's elder brother, John Rogers, who had explored that region as early as 1712; and within a mile of Monticello, in later years to become the home of Thomas Jefferson. Here were born the first four of their ten children—Jonathan (1750), George Rogers (1752), Ann (1755), and John 4th (1757).

In 1757 occurred the death of Mr. Clark's uncle, John 2d, who had remained a bachelor and bequeathed to his namesake and favorite nephew his large farm in the southwestern corner of Caroline County. Thither the family of John 3d at once removed, and their six other children were natives of the new seat—Richard (1760), Edmund (1762), Lucy (1765), Elizabeth (1768), William (August 1, 1770), and Frances (1773).

John and Ann Rogers Clark appeared to have been a strifty couple. According to the simple eighteenth century standards of the Virginia frontier they were well-to-do, although doubtless many a Western farmer of our day would consider himself to have won but a fair competence had he only the fortune of our hero's parents. After the manner of borderers, the children obtained but the most elementary education; reared to hard work at home, they also had a full knowledge of woodcraft, for their fields were still girt about by jungles, and not far distant were dense forests darkly mantling the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies; cattle, horses and hogs were pastured on the rich mast of the foothills, and after the annual round-up driven in herds to distant seaboard markets; guarding the mountain passes and the west-flowing waters beyond, were fierce tribes of Indians, visited only by wandering fur-traders, hunters and occasionally a venturesome missionary or an exploring surveyor, or now and then by a punitive expedition of the free-and-easy border militia.

When William was two years of age (1772), his elder brother George Rogers Clark, then a young surveyor and well-equipped borderman, made his first exploration down the Ohio River. Thus William grew up familiar with the ways of the woods, with long hunting trips, with Indian fighters, of whom there were several in his own family, and with thoughts of venturesome deeds far beyond the fretted sky-line of the Alleghenies that gave bound to Virginia on the west.



In the month of October, 1784, five years after George Rogers Clark, the most famous of all the sons of John Clark 3d, had valorously won for American arms the country beyond the Ohio, and the year following the confirmation of that conquest by the treaty of Paris, his parents and most of his brothers and sisters, born frontier folk, took up their line of march from Virginia for the newer land of Kentucky. Their route lay along the overmountain path from the Potomac to the Monongahela, that had been moistened by the blood of Washington's men at Fort Necessity and by Braddock's at the Turtle Creek crossing. Winter chanced to set in early, so that on their arrival the Monongahela was found to be choked with ice. With other Western emigrants the Clarks tarried at Pittsburg until the February thaw, when re-embarking they descended to Louisville (then known as the Falls of the Ohio), reaching that far-off Western outpost early in March. The new seat of the Clarks was attractively located at Mulberry Hill, on Beargrass Creek—three miles south of George Rogers Clark's rude fort at Louisville, with its cordon of log huts for the settlers—and here John Clark died fourteen years later (July 29, 1799); his aged wife, Ann, having passed away several months previous (December, 1798).

Thus in his fifteenth year William Clark became a Kentuckian. The life at Mulberry Hill was quite similar to that on the Virginia uplands, save that frontier conditions were more evident. The Clark home was a center of hospitality and sociability for the entire region. Under the roof-tree at Mulberry Hill were frequently entertained sturdy pioneers of the Kentucky movement, bringing their tales of Indian warfare and other perils and hardships of the early days; and the second generation of Kentucky immigrants also found here a welcome—gentlemen and lawyers of the new settlements, Revolutionary soldiers seeking homes in the growing West, men of enterprise, culture and promise, permanent founders of a new civilization.

Among them all, a marked favorite was young "Billy," whose large and powerful frame was capped by a full, broad face, profoundly serious in composure, yet lit by kindly, sympathetic eyes that were windows to a persistent, dauntless soul. His thick shock of red hair eloquently bespoke his great-grandfather's Maryland wooing. But his own words were few; his reputation being that of a youth who accomplished things, rather than talked of them. Frequently he was a member of war parties against the still troublesome aborigines. He had but entered on his seventeenth year when we find him enlisted in the Wabash expedition

under his elder brother, now General George Rogers Clark. Three years later (1789), he joined Colonel John Hardin's unfortunate enterprise against the tribesmen north of the Ohio, that met with at least one success, the spirited defeat of the enemy on White River.

In 1790 young Clark served the federal government by undertaking a dangerous mission to the Southern Indians, when the Creeks and Cherokees were giving trouble. The season following (spring and summer of 1791), on reaching his majority, he was commissioned as ensign and acting lieutenant, and served in the successive Wabash Indian campaigns of General Scott and Wilkinson. "Your brother William," writes one of the family friends,<sup>1</sup> "is gone out as a cadet with General Scott, on the expedition. He is a youth of solid and promising parts, and as brave as Caesar."

Two years later (March 19, 1793), we find him commissioned as a first lieutenant of riflemen in the Fourth Sublegion, in General Anthony Wayne's Western Army. After being engaged as an engineer in constructing forts along the line of advance, he was, late in the season, dispatched upon a perilous and tedious expedition up the Wabash as far as Vincennes, during which his soldiers were for some time obliged to depend on their rifles for supplies, while for twenty days their progress was blocked by ice.

Returning to Fort Washington (Cincinnati) in the spring of 1794, Clark—who, although holding but a lieutenant's commission, frequently commanded a company—was promptly ordered to escort to Fort Greenville seven hundred packhorses laden with supplies for the army. Attacked by the savages (May 13), he lost six men killed and two wounded, but gallantly repulsed the enemy and elicited praise from Wayne,<sup>2</sup> under whom he later (August 20) won distinction by leading the left column of riflemen in the battle of Fallen Timbers. During this campaign he also acted as adjutant and quartermaster to the legion.

In 1795 Wayne sent Clark with a message to the Spanish authorities at New Madrid, protesting against the erection of a fort at the Chickasaw Bluffs. It is said that they were much impressed by the dignity and soldiery bearing of the young lieu-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. James O'Fallon to Colonel Jonathan Clark, May 30, 1791; in Draper, MSS., 2L28.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to his brother, General Jonathan Clark, dated May 31, 1794, Lieutenant Clark complains that the commander-in-chief in his public order wrongly attributes to Lieutenant Turner, a passenger in the expedition, and under-ranking Clark, more laurels than to the latter, who considered himself as entitled to full credit.

tenant who was so soon to be planning for the exploration of their vast trans-Mississippi possessions. The following summer, in his twenty-sixth year, he resigned his commission and retired from the army (July 1, 1796), because of ill health—apparently with the brevet rank of captain, for thereafter he was given that title.

Clark's four years' service in the Western Army had been of a character to bring fresh honors to the Clark name, had he done no more. He had become familiar with the methods of handling and retaining the respect of large bodies of frontiersmen under military discipline; his store of courage and resource had been tested to the full in dealing with savage foes; he had acquired experience on diplomatic missions; he had been in touch with the prominent men of his time. But most significant and far-reaching of all, he was for several months previous to his resignation thrown into intimate companionship with Meriwether Lewis, four years his junior, whom he had doubtless known as a boy in Virginia, and who—in the capacity of an ensign assigned to his company—was now his fellow campaigner.<sup>1</sup>

Captain William Clark became, in his retirement, a young country gentleman, and at first, after recovering his health, placidly occupied himself with the business of his now aged father's estate. When the latter died, Mulberry Hill fell to William's share. But with these rustic duties were soon mingled the management of the tangled affairs of his famous brother, George Rogers Clark, which henceforth occupied much of his attention. Vexatious suits were brought against the hero of Vincennes, for supplies furnished to his troops during the Revolutionary War; and to meet these William Clark, self-sacrificingly loyal to his brother's interests, parted with a large share of his own possessions, even the ancestral seat of Mulberry Hill. As some measure of compensation, General Clark conveyed to William 65,000 acres of land below the mouth of Tennessee River; in later years, when this tract became valuable, the latter shared it with other members of the family.

William Clark's affairs were in this condition when, in his thirty-third year, a momentous letter reached him (July 16, 1803), from his old comrade and subordinate in Wayne's army, now Captain Meriwether Lewis, of the First Infantry, and lately private secretary to President Jefferson. This communication, dated

<sup>1</sup> See Clark's letter to Nicholas Biddle, dated St. Louis, August 15, 1811, in Coue's, *Lewis and Clark expedition* (N. Y., 1893), i, pp. lxxi, lxxii.

Washington, June 19, gave confidential information of Lewis' projected exploring expedition through Spanish territory to the Pacific Ocean, under Jefferson's auspices, and Clark was invited to "participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors." The young Kentucky Cincinnatus was cordially assured by his still younger friend-at-arms that "there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself."<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that owing to the slowness of Western mails, Lewis' letter was all but a month in reaching Kentucky. Failing to hear from his friend as soon as he had expected, and fearing that this might mean that he was unable to go, Lewis had meanwhile opened tentative negotiations with Lieutenant Moses Hooke of his own regiment, then in charge of military stores at Pittsburg. When Lewis' letter arrived, Captain Clark was at his brother George Rogers' estate at Clarksville, Indiana, on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite Louisville, and the following day (July 17) he accepted the offer with enthusiasm. "That is," he wrote, "an immense undertaking fraught with numerous difficulties, but my friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake and share the Difficulties of such a trip than yourself."

The circumstances under which this proposed exploration towards the Pacific was undertaken are, in this centennial anniversary period, doubtless familiar to all of us. But for the sake of continuous narrative it is necessary, even at the expense of bringing historical coals to this Newcastle, briefly to recount them. Jolliet and Marquette (1673) had first hoped that the Mississippi might be found emptying into the Pacific; but on ascertaining that its flood was received by the Gulf of Mexico, they looked upon the Missouri as the undoubted highway to the ocean of the West. There was, indeed, a widely-prevalent tradition among aborigines living upon the Mississippi that the Missouri sprung from a low-lying watershed that might easily be portaged to some stream emptying into the Pacific. Even at the opening of the eighteenth century, charts published in Europe showed west-flowing waters interlocking with the Missouri. Several French expeditions were organized for exploring the Missouri and some of its lower affluents—La Harpe and Du Tisne (1719), De Bourgmont (1722), and Mallet (1739); but they accomplished little

<sup>1</sup> See correspondence in full in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904-5), Vol. VII.



more than obtaining a knowledge of the country for a few hundred miles above its mouth, with side ventures upon the South Fork of the Platte, the Arkansas and the plains stretching south-westward to the Spanish seat of Santa Fe.

Upon the eve of the downfall of New France, the crafty Louis XV, in order to prevent England from obtaining them, ceded to Spain (November, 1762), the town and neighborhood of New Orleans and the broad possessions of France west of the Mississippi, the so-called Province of Louisiana. But the Spaniards who came to the two capitals, New Orleans and St. Louis, were in the main only soldiers and public officials. French habitants occupied their little waterside villages, as of old; being joined in the closing decade of the century by Kentuckians like Daniel Boone, who, weary of the legal and social restraints of growing American settlements, were willing to accept Spanish land grants with their promise of a return to primitive conditions, in which farming alternated with hunting. French trappers, many of them blood relatives of the red men, and now released from the tyranny of the fur-trade monopoly of New France, freely plied their nomadic calling upon the lower reaches of the Missouri and its branches, and even up the Platte and Arkansas to the bases of the Rockies. French and half-breed fur-traders—*etieher* on their own account, or as agents of the warring British companies of the Canadian wilds, the Hudson's Bay and the North West—wandered far and near among the tribesmen, visiting them in their permanent villages and accompanying them upon hunting, fishing and war parties. Their long journeyings by land and water occasionally carried them as far afield as the great northern bend of the Missouri, where were the villages of the trade-loving Mandans, who bartered indiscriminately with Gauls from St. Louis and Britons from the Assiniboine.

In California, Spanish missions to the Indians had by the opening of our Revolutionary War extended as far north as San Francisco and Monterey. Spanish mariners, seeking vainly for a transcontinental waterway that should furnish a short route between Spain and India, had by this time become familiar with the Northwest coast up to the modern Sitka, and developed a considerable trade with the natives, chiefly at Nootka Sound, on the western shore of Vancouver's Island; while adventurous Spanish missionaries had contemporaneously penetrated eastward to the Great Basin. Russian trading vessels had ventured southward from Alaska to Nootka Sound. In 1778 Captain Cook



touched the Northwest Coast on his third voyage around the world; and by 1785 traders of several nations—English, American, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese—were plying these waters in a world-wide commerce for furs, and rapidly extending a knowledge of our Western shores and of their savage inhabitants.

Such was the situation when Thomas Jefferson—philosopher, seer, statesman—always interested in the Middle West, first felt within him yearnings for a more intimate knowledge of the vast country lying beyond the Mississippi River. That the Province of Louisiana belonged to Spain gave him no pause; he felt that so long as British traders from Canada were exploiting the trans-Mississippi interior, Americans might be excused for opening through this wilderness a trade route to the Pacific, and incidentally extending the bounds of human knowledge in geography and the natural sciences.

In 1783 he proposed such an expedition to George Rogers Clark,<sup>1</sup> but nothing came of the suggestion. Three years later, when American minister to Paris, he arranged with the adventurous John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who had been with Captain Cook around the globe, to penetrate to the Missouri from the west, and descend that stream to the American settlements; but Ledyard's enterprise came to grief through his arrest in Kamtschatka by agents of the Russian crown, which looked askance at American operations on the Northwest Coast. Captain John Armstrong in 1790 attempted to ascend the Missouri, under orders from the War Department at Washington, but failed because of the hostility of the Missouri tribes. In 1793—the year following Captain Robert Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia—Jefferson, acting as a vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, dispatched upon this same mission Andre Michaux, a distinguished French botanist then herborizing in the United States. Michaux tarried in Kentucky to conduct a French political intrigue with George Rogers Clark and other disaffected borderers, who were planning a filibustering expedition against the Spanish of Louisiana, with the result that his project of exploration was abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

When Jefferson became President of the United States, perhaps a score of American trading vessels were annually visiting Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia; British overland

<sup>1</sup> The original MS. of this letter is among the Draper MSS. (press-mark 52J93), in the Wisconsin Historical Library.

<sup>1</sup> See documents connected with these several projects, in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Appendix, Vol. VII.

traders were, as we have seen, operating among the Mandan Indians and their tribal neighbors, at or below the great bend of the Missouri; French and half-breed trappers and traders, together with a few expatriated Kentuckians, were familiar with the Missouri and its lower affluents; upon St. Peter's River (now the Minnesota), British free-traders were profitably bartering with the Sioux, a circumstance causing much uneasiness among Americans of the Middle West. As yet, few citizens of the United States were engaged in the exploitation of the trans-Mississippi, which Napoleon, dreaming of another New France in North America, had now (October 1, 1800) obliged Spain to retrocede to him, although he had not thus far taken formal possession of the country.

President Jefferson had not forgotten his early dreams of exploring the Far West. In the winter of 1802-03, the opportunity was presented of again pushing the scheme, this time with the greater influence attendant upon his exalted position. An "act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes" had lapsed, and he urged Congress in a secret message to reach out for the trade of the Missouri River Indians, suggesting an exploring party as the best means of accomplishing this object.

He recognized that the country which he thus proposed to enter had recently become the property of France, although still governed by Spain; but thought that the European powers would not object to an enterprise cloaked "as a literary pursuit." Congress acceded to his wish, and appropriated \$2,500 to carry the project into effect. This amount seems amusingly small; but contemporary documents<sup>1</sup> abundantly prove that Jefferson intended that the exploring party should, while still east of the Mississippi River, be subsisted by the War Department as a military enterprise. In addition thereto he issued in their favor a general letter of credit, which while it proved of no avail, further demonstrates the fact that the enterprise was not expected to confine itself to the appropriation.

The story of the expedition of Lewis and Clark is so familiar a tale in our day that we need not here dwell at length upon it. Lewis, who in 1803 was but twenty-nine years of age, had won an excellent reputation in the Western Army, and as Jefferson's private secretary shown himself a man of affairs, thoroughly imbued with common sense, and much of a diplomat. The President had at first wished that a scientist might lead the party;

<sup>1</sup> Given in full in Appendix (Vol. VII) to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.

but just then no such person was available who at the same time understood the Indian, was an adept in camp life, could govern a company of frontiersmen, and possessed the physique necessary for an enterprise of this hardy character. Lewis sought, in some measure, to overcome his deficiency on the scientific side by taking brief but evidently strenuous lessons from eminent scientists of his day, especially regarding the use of the crude astronomical instruments then in vogue, and the making of geological, natural history and ethnological notes.

Clark, in his thirty-third year, furnished not only a knowledge of aborigines and wild life generally, quite the equal of his friend's, but for his day was a competent engineer and facile draughtsman, qualifications as essential to the undertaking as the necessarily superficial scientific training of Lewis; he also proved much the better boatman of the two, and to him apparently was in large measure assigned the difficult task of training the men.

Preparations were quite complete—Lewis was ready to start from Washington, Clark had already enlisted a number of young Kentucky riflemen, boats for the Ohio River trip and supplies had been ordered and were assembling at Pittsburg, Jefferson had issued his final detailed instructions, and permits had been obtained from both French and Spanish officials who, however, had small notion of what the expedition meant—when a new phase was given to the enterprise. On the second of May, 1803, American commissioners had, quite without authority for so important a transaction, signed a treaty with Napoleon by which Louisiana was sold to the United States, France having three years previously secretly obtained the province from Spain. Some inkling of the Louisiana Purchase had certainly reached Washington by the middle of June, for Lewis privately mentioned it in his invitation to Clark; but official confirmation was not received until July 14, by which time Lewis had nearly reached Pittsburg, prepared to descend the Ohio with his little flotilla. Thus the expedition was on its feet and would surely have marched, despite European ownership of the trans-Mississippi. News of the transfer of sovereignty wrought no other change, save that the secrecy heretofore maintained was no longer necessary.

At Louisville, Clark joined Lewis with his volunteers, and the company wintered near the mouth of River Dubois, on the American side, opposite the entrance of the Missouri. While Lewis appears to have spent much time in the then village of

St. Louis, consulting with French fur-traders and others conversant with the country, Clark was for the most part engaged at camp, accumulating stores and suitable craft for the long journey, and in organizing and disciplining the party—a somewhat sturdy task, this latter, for the court-martial records of the expedition reveal the fact that the young Kentucky riflemen whom Clark had gathered, were slow in bending their democratic necks to the military yoke. In March, Lewis was the chief official witness of the transfer of Upper Louisiana—at first from Spain to France, and then from France to the United States.

May 14, 1804, Clark started from the camp on the Dubois, “in the presence,” he tells us in his journal, “of many of the neighboring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri,” picking up Lewis six days later at St. Charles, whose citizens hospitably entertained the adventurers.

The long and painful journey up the great river during the summer and autumn of 1804 was followed by a winter spent in log huts enclosed by a stout palisade, among the Mandan Indians, not far from the present Bismarck, North Dakota. Making a fresh start from Fort Mandan, upon the seventh of April, 1805, there ensued a toilsome experience all the way to the head-spring of Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, which was reached August 12. Then came the crossing of the rugged, snow-clad Bitterroot Mountains, which here constitute the divide; and the descent of the foaming rapids and cataracts of the Columbia, until the Pacific was reached in November. By Christmas the party were safely housed within Fort Clatsop, a rude structure—like Fort Mandan, log huts within a palisade covering a plot of ground some fifty feet square.

Another dreary but busy winter was spent in studying the natives and making other scientific observations in the neighborhood, and filling their large note-books with these interesting data. This was not the season, however, for meeting any of the numerous trading mariners who frequented the Northwest Coast; thus the letter of credit given by Jefferson to the explorers proved useless, for lack of any one to whom it might be presented. For several months they were in dire straits, being obliged to exercise great ingenuity in making trinkets and in the rude practice of medicine and surgery, with which to obtain supplies from the avaricious natives.

Leaving Fort Clatsop the twenty-third of March, 1806, the return of the expedition was delayed by heavy snows on the



mountainous divide, and much hardship was experienced. The actual crossing of the range commenced June 15. By the first of July the party had arrived at Travelers' Rest Creek, where the over-mountain Indian trails converged, and here they divided into two sections—Lewis' party going direct to the Falls of the Missouri, and afterwards exploring Maria's River with a view to ascertaining its availability as a fur-trade route to the north; Clark and his contingent proceeding to the head of Missouri navigation of the year before, and then crossing over to the Yellowstone and descending that stream to its junction with the Missouri.

Parting company on the third of July, it was the twelfth of August before the two branches of the expedition reunited on the Missouri, several days below the mouth of the Yellowstone. Their final happy arrival at St. Louis, on the twenty-third of September, 1806, after an absence of two years, four months and nine days, is one of the most familiar and equally one of the most romantic and significant events in American history. "We were met by all the village and received a harty welcom from all its inhabitants," etc., is Clark's terse record of what must have been an hilarious popular demonstration. Would he might have seen this beautiful city on the present memorial day, and experienced the warmth of affection in which his memory is still held at the close of the hundred years during which the trans-Mississippi wilderness that he and his brave companions opened to the world has developed into a seat of imperial wealth and power.

I should like to linger upon the curious and romantic story of the journals kept by Lewis and Clark and several of their forty-three companions; but time presses, and as the tale has lately been told at length,<sup>1</sup> it is left but briefly to allude to it. Upon their return, both of the two leaders began at once, here in St. Louis, to write out their notes for publication. But both were soon summoned to high office—Lewis being made governor of Louisiana Territory, and Clark its superintendent of Indian affairs and brigadier-general of its militia.<sup>1</sup> The onerous duties

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

<sup>1</sup> Upon the expedition, Lewis held a captaincy in the First Infantry. Clark had been promised a captaincy, but when his commission arrived it proved to be but a second lieutenantcy of artillery, which somewhat piqued him; but he concluded to proceed, when assured by Lewis that the latter did not recognize any difference in rank between them. On their return Clark resigned from the army on February 27, 1807, and Lewis on March 2. President Jefferson signed Lewis's commission as governor on March 3, Clark's commission being signed nine days later.



appertaining to these new positions in the vast territory through which they had journeyed were necessarily absorbing; and neither being possessed of the literary habit, further progress towards publication was easily deferred.

Urged thereto by Jefferson, the originator and promoter of the expedition, Lewis began seriously to undertake the work; but he died (probably was murdered), the night of October 11, 1809, in a Tennessee wayside tavern at which he was stopping, en route to Philadelphia and Washington, where he intended at last to settle himself to the task. Clark, now the sole survivor, was promptly importuned from Monticello to assume charge of the undertaking, and finally engaged Nicholas Biddle, a young Philadelphia lawyer and financier of considerable literary experience, to edit the journals and prepare from them a popular narrative. This publication, after many strange adventures, finally appeared in 1814, eight years after the return of the expedition. It was, in many ways, an admirable piece of work, and has become an American historical and geographical classic. But it was not full enough, especially on the scientific side, to satisfy Jefferson, who sought to collect the original note-books for the use of some future historian of his great enterprise. Such as he gathered were placed in the care of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; but it appears that Clark, unknown to Jefferson, retained at St. Louis a good share of his own notes, and nearly all of the numerous and admirable annotated maps and plans he had made en route. In due course of time—sixty years or more after his death—these drifted to New York City, and only a few years ago were by the present speaker discovered there in the possession of his heirs. Recently, and for the first time, practically all of the Lewis and Clark journals and the Clark maps have been published, a hundred years after they were written and drawn in the field.<sup>1</sup>

From these journals written day by day, abounding though they are in scientific data—concerning the botany, zoology, meteorology, geology, astronomy, ethnology and geography of the Missouri and Columbia Valleys—we obtain for the first time a vivid picture of the great explorers and their life. Their pages are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving consideration that the two leaders felt, each for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis—officially the leader,

<sup>1</sup> Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (7 Vols. and Atlas).

and chancing to hold a captain's commission while Clark, evidently through some clerical misunderstanding, was gazetted merely as a lieutenant—in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move save by Clark's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who, less emotional but undoubtedly feeling deeply, wrote in brief, pointed, business-like phrases, and, less scholastic of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically, and occasionally slipped in his grammar—all these, and more, are evident on every page; causing the reader deeply to admire the men, and to follow them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and admiration.

A hundred years ago, St. Louis was on the utmost Western frontier, and for many years after the Louisiana Purchase was the principal entrepot for the rapidly-developing region of the trans-Mississippi. The dreamy little village necessarily enjoyed intimate relations with the aborigines, a far-reaching fur-trade, and extensive transportation intrests along the great interlacing river system of the Far West—over boundless grassy plains rolling to the horizon like the billows of the sea, across desert wastes gay in shadow but parched in the midday sun, and through rugged mountain canons reaching tortously to the sun-kissed slopes of the Pacific. Socially, St. Louis was an interesting medley of French, Spanish and Americans, each with their distinct ideals; and here met North and South. This seat of Western dominion, its buoyant aspirations tempered by an old-fashioned conservatism, appealed strongly to these soberly-trained Virginians who had become imbued with a passion for pioneering. Thus Lewis and Clark, in settling down in Old St. Louis, found its life congenial, and at once became typical citizens, whom this modern cosmopolitan community does well to venerate.

Soon after Lewis' death, Gen. Benjamin Howard succeeded him (April 17, 1810), as Governor of Louisiana Territory—Brigadier-General Clark becoming inspector-general of the Territorial militia and still retaining the superintendency of the Indians of the Territory, as well as the agency of the federal Indian Department. Upon the twelfth of December, 1812, the name of the Territory, which now contained a population of over 20,000, exclusive of Indians, was changed to Missouri, and Howard re-

tired, being made a brigadier-general in the federal army. After a few months of interregnum, Clark was appointed by President Madison as Governor of the new Territory (July 1, 1813), administering the office with great ability until Missouri entered the Union as a State (August 10, 1821). A candidate for popular election as Governor of the new commonwealth, he was defeated by his old friend, Colonel Alexander McNair,<sup>1</sup> then Register of the United States Land Office at St. Louis; both men were widely known and had many admirers, but McNair was apparently the better politician of the two, moreover he had married into a prominent French family of the place. In May following, President Monroe appointed Clark as federal superintendent of Indian affairs, an office newly created by Congress, and this post he filled until his death in 1838; although for a short time (1824-25), he also held the position of surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas.

Ten months after General Clark had founded a home in St. Louis, he married (January 5, 1808), Miss Julia Hancock, daughter of Colonel George Hancock, of Fincastle, Virginia, a charming young woman then only in her seventeenth year, of whom Clark had for some time been an ardent admirer, and for whom upon the great expedition he named one of the principal affluents of the Missouri "Judith's River" (now the Big Horn). She died in 1820 (June 27), leaving him five children.<sup>1</sup> Seventeen months later (Nov. 28, 1821), he married her first cousin (three years her senior), Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford, who died in 1831 (Dec. 25), having borne him two children.<sup>2</sup>

Amidst his numerous and often exacting official duties, Clark appears to have found time and opportunity to enter freely into the commercial side of life in Old St. Louis. In the newspaper press of the time we find frequent references to his somewhat extended dealings in city real estate. The brick mansion that he built (1818-19) on the corner of Main and Vine Streets, not far from the site of the building in which he died and which we have this day marked by a beautiful memorial tablet, was one of the most imposing of early St. Louis residences. Within his

<sup>1</sup> The vote stood: McNair, 6,576; Clark, 2,556.

<sup>1</sup> Meriwether Lewis, born St. Louis, January 10, 1809, died at Frankfort, Ky., Oct. 28, 1881; William Preston, born St. Louis, Oct. 5, 1811, died there May 16, 1840; Mary Margaret, born St. Louis, Jan. 1, 1814, died near Middleton, Ky., Oct. 15, 1821; George Rogers Hancock, born St. Louis, May 6, 1816, died at Minoma, St. Louis County, Oct. 2, 1858; John Julius, born St. Louis, July 6, 1818, died there Sept. 5, 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson Kearney, born St. Louis, February 29, 1824, died January 9, 1900, in New York City; Edmund, born St. Louis, Sept. 9, 1826, died there Aug. 12, 1827.

adjoining block of brick houses on Main Street, he constructed a large hall which for many years was used as a council room for Indian treaty conventions and talks; while upon its walls and in cases were displayed a very considerable collection of Indian curiosities that was open to the public, being frequently alluded to in terms of admiration in the journals of travelers who visited this then frontier community. "Here were Indian dresses decorated with feathers; weapons, such as bows and arrows, battle clubs and stone axes; birch-bark canoes, suspended from the ceiling; skins of animals; the bones of a mastodon; and other interesting specimen and relics."<sup>1</sup> This hall was also the scene of numerous banquets, patriotic celebrations, and other popular gatherings, thus largely entering into the daily life of St. Louis three-quarters of a century ago, and of itself well meriting today's memorial exercises.

The general was also prominent in the Indian fur-trade of the great region whose gates Lewis and himself had opened to commerce. In 1809, he in company with Manuel Lisa, Silvestre Labadie, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Auguste Chouteau, Jr., Reuben Lewis and Benjamin Wilkinson, all of St. Louis, and other stockholders from neighboring States, organized the American Fur Company, capitalized at \$27,000, to trade with the aborigines of the Upper Missouri and the mountains beyond. Three years later, the capital stock was increased to \$50,000, and the name changed to the Missouri Fur Company, an organization long dominating the trade of the Far West, and popularly accredited with considerable financial success.

It is an interesting revelation of one phase of his private character to find him, in documents of the period, assisting in the establishment of Christ Church in St. Louis, and thus becoming one of the founders of the Protestant Episcopal communion west of the Mississippi. In Christ Church Cathedral, an outgrowth of that early parish, there can to-day be seen a beautiful memorial window placed there by his daughter-in-law, Eleanor Glasgow Clark, in memory of his son and her husband, George Rogers Hancock Clark.<sup>1</sup>

General Clark was great as an explorer. and doubtless it is in that capacity that posterity will chiefly view him. But in

<sup>1</sup> From note to the writer by Miss Eleanor Glasgow Vorhis, of New York City, great-grand daughter of General Clark, published in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xi., p. 263. Miss Voorhis relates that after Clark's death the keeper of the museum, without authority or knowledge of the family, took the collection to England and disposed of the specimens to his own profit.

<sup>2</sup> On the left side of the chancel, near the organ.



truth his services to his country as superintendent of Indian affairs in Louisiana and Missouri Territories, and his career as governor, were quite as important, although less heralded. During the three decades of his superintendency, when American explorers and traders were first occupying the trans-Mississippi region, it was of the utmost importance to these civilizing agencies that the aborigines be kept at peace with our army of occupation. Upon the transcontinental expedition of 1804-06, Clark was the dominant figure in all negotiations with the Indians. Unlike Lewis, who while eloquent in his tribal talks, did not always please his native hearers,<sup>2</sup> Clark's manner was mild, affable, conciliatory, sympathetic, in which attitude he was much assisted by a benevolent, kindly countenance, and large expressive eyes, which inevitably inspired confidence. His skillful diplomacy upon the tour, to which every page of the Original Journals bears unconscious but eloquent witness, was continued in his capacity as superintendent. The result was, that between the mouths of the Missouri and the Columbia, he was venerated by scores of tribes, among whom the word of "Red Head," as he was affectionately styled, became law.

Clark's reputation for stern integrity, for absolute purity of private character, for sympathy with the unfortunate, for advocacy of the rights of men, whether red or white, mingled with his capacity for swiftly administering needed retribution, was of the utmost importance in a vast border region wherein the original inhabitants were being slowly but surely, and not always gently, ousted by the vanguard of civilization, and where the worst elements among both whites and reds might at any moment precipitate widespread conflict. Through these troubled waters, General and Governor Clark safely steered the course of the Great West. Whether in times of peace or of war—his splendid services on the frontier in the war of 1812-15 were alone enough to win him the nation's gratitude—he was for the thirty-one years of his official career in more senses than one the dominant figure in your midst. When, upon the site dedicated by this

<sup>1</sup> In his journal, given in L. R. Masson, *Bourgeoisie de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), i, p. 336, the explorer Charles Mackenzie, who met Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-5, says: "Mr. La Rocque and I \* \* \* became intimate with the gentlemen of the American expedition, who on all occasions seemed happy to see us, and always treated us with civility and kindness. It is true, It is true, Captain Lewis could not make himself agreeable to us. He could speak fluently and learnedly on all subjects, but his inveterate disposition against the British stained, at least in our eyes, all his eloquence. Captain Clarke was equally well-informed, but his conversation was always pleasant, for he seemed to dislike giving offense unnecessarily."



afternoon's ceremonies, he passed from this life on the first of September, 1838, aged sixty-eight years and one month, his demise was sincerely mourned by both races, throughout the northern half of the trans-Mississippi.

You do well to honor him to-day. Republics are charged with being ungrateful. This is but a superficial view. A monarchy has well-organized machinery for the official recognition of its worthy servants. In a democratic government, we perforce leave to popular action the placing of laurels on our heroes' brows, and such action is necessarily spasmodic and uncertain. The republic is surely as grateful as the monarchy for noble deeds in the public cause, although less frequently giving formal expression to its sentiment. We need to cultivate this practice among us, as a people. Not that heroes are actually made by the affixing of medals, or by the expectation of popular applause; but the generous recognition of high public service, past or present, awakens within us all that civic and national pride in our past, that historic self-consciousness as a people, that is the sure foundation of patriotism.

It is not given to many cities of the West, to harbor such precious historic traditions as those clustering around Old St. Louis. But amidst all your rich heritage of glowing memory, no single event was quite so pregnant with far-reaching consequences as the expedition of Lewis and Clark, first and in many respects greatest of all explorations undertaken by our federal government. You to-day celebrate its safe and successful return to its point of departure, and incidentally honor yourselves in especially recognizing St. Louis' debt of gratitude to one of her noblest citizens, William Clark—soldier, explorer, statesman, benefactor of his race.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

## THE INDIAN COUNCIL AT WALLA WALLA.\*

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Annually during the last quarter of a century a select band of American Indians, gathered from the plains of the Western and Eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and designated as the Wild West Show, have crossed the Atlantic to the cities of the Old World; and thousands of people there have viewed with wonder and awe their pageantry and horsemanship. But what would have been the feeling of anyone of this multitude of people had he been present in the Walla Walla Valley on May 24th, 1855, and stood with Governor Stevens and General Palmer and a few other white men upon a slight eminence, and witnessed the arrival of the Nez Perce braves, coming to attend the council that had been called, to consider their relations with the Great Father at Washington, and the permanent disposition of the lands they had a right to call their own. Lieutenant Lawrence Kip (afterward colonel) of the U. S. Army, was one of those present, and he kept a daily journal from which is drawn our description of the scene.

"Thursday, May 24th. This has been an exceedingly interesting day, as about 2,500 of the Nez Perce tribe have arrived. It was our first specimen of this prairie chivalry, and it certainly realized all our conceptions of these wild warriors of the plains. Their coming was announced about 10 o'clock, and going out on the plain to where a flagstaff had been erected, we saw them approaching on horseback in one long line. They were almost entirely naked, gaudily painted and decorated with their wild trappings. Their plumes fluttered about them, while below, skins and trinkets of all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine. Trained from early childhood almost to live upon horseback, they sat upon their fine animals as if they were centaurs. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. They were painted with such colors as formed the greatest contrast; the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from the bridles, while the plumes

\* Prepared for the annual meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Spokane, May, 1907.

of eagle feathers interwoven with the mane and tail, fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance. When about a mile distant they halted, and a half dozen chiefs rode forward and were introduced to Governor Stevens and General Palmer, in the order of their rank. Then on came the rest of the wild horsemen in single file, clashing their shields, singing and beating their drums as they marched past us. Then they formed a circle and dashed around us, while our little group stood there, the center of their wild evolutions. They would gallop up as if about to make a charge, then wheel round and round, sounding their loud whoops until they had apparently worked themselves up into an intense excitement. Then some score or two dismounted, and forming a ring danced for about twenty minutes, while those surrounding them beat time on their drums. After these performances more than twenty of the chiefs went over to the tent of Governor Stevens, where they sat for some time, smoking the 'pipe of peace' in token of good fellowship, and then returned to their camping ground."

And this was the first tribe to arrive; in the days following came the Walla Wallas, the Umatillas, the Cayuses, the Yakimas and other tribes of lesser note. Chief Garry of the Spokanes was present as a visitor or spectator, but not as a participant.

The Walla Walla Valley was chosen for the council ground at the instance of Kam-i-ah-kan, the head chief of the Yakimas, who said, "There is the place where in ancient times we held our councils with the neighboring tribes, and we will hold it there now" (Life of Gov. Stevens, vol. 2, page 27); and the spot was that later selected as the site of the city of Walla Walla. The Indians present, including women and children, according to Mr. Kip, numbered over five thousand, and included more than eight tribes; fifty-eight chiefs and under-chiefs joined in signing the treaties there agreed to, but so soon broken. Of the whites there was one small company of the regular soldiers from the fort at The Dalles, numbering less than fifty; and in the parties of Governor Stevens and General Palmer, about fifty more, which included secretaries and interpreters, and packers. A considerable amount of food and presents had been brought to distribute among the Indians.

There was a pathetic side to this gathering, for these Indians were not ignorant of the previous history of their race, or of what must be in the future for them. Some of them had been

to the Red River settlements and received some education, and with others had mingled and intermarried small bands of Iroquois and Delawares and others, who had been driven from their own homes and hunting grounds by the westward sweep of civilization. Lieutenant Kip transcribed some of their speeches. Chief Hal-Hal-Tlos-Sot (otherwise known as Chief Lawyer) of the Nez Percés, said: "The red man traveled farther and from that time they kept traveling away farther, as the white people came up with them. \* \* \* They have come on from the Great Lake where the sun rises, until they are now near us, at the setting sun." Owhi, the Umatilla chief, said: "We are together and the Great Spirit hears all that we say today. The Great Spirit gave us the land and measured the land to us, this is the reason I am afraid to say anything about the land. I am afraid of the laws of the Great Spirit. This is the reason of my heart being sad. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. Shall I steal this land and sell it? or, what shall I do? \* \* \* The Great Spirit made our friends; but the Great Spirit made our bodies from the earth as if they were different from the whites. Shall I give the land which is a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my land? I cannot say so."

There was also the heroic side. Late on the evening of June 2d, "the Lawyer came unattended to see Governor Stevens. He disclosed a conspiracy on the part of the Cayuses to suddenly rise up and massacre all the whites on the council ground—that this measure, deliberated in nightly conferences for some time, had at length been determined upon in full council of the tribe the day before; \* \* \* they were now only waiting the assent of the Yakimas and Walla Wallas to strike the blow and that these latter had actually joined, or were on the point of joining, the Cayuses in a war of extermination against the whites, for which the massacre of the governor and his party was to be the signal." \* \* \* The Lawyer concluded by saying: "I will come with my family and pitch my lodge in the midst of your camp, that those Cayuses may see that you and your party are under the protection of the head chief of the Nez Percés." He did so immediately, although it was now after midnight. \* \* \* Governor Stevens on his part imparted his knowledge of the conspiracy to Secretary Doty and Packmaster Higgins, and to them alone, for he feared that, should the party generally learn of it, a stampede would ensue. Having through these efficient

officers quietly caused the men to put their arms in readiness, and posting night guards, he determined to continue the council at usual. (*Life of Gov. Stevens*, vol. 2, page 47.) For his brave and skillful conduct in danger and difficulty upon this and other occasions, Governor Stevens will some time be honored with a statue in the Hall of Fame at our national capital.

The limits of this paper have permitted of only an illusion. The formal meetings of the Walla Walla council, as it has come to be termed, extended over a period of two weeks, from Tuesday, May 29th, to Monday, June 11th, inclusive, but the participants were on the ground for a week longer, before and after. It was a remarkable gathering, not so much in what was directly as was indirectly accomplished, and in leaving to us a beautiful and authentic picture of Indian life, and a correct insight into Indian character and into their view of their own problem of existence. It makes one of the strongest chapters in the story of the survival of the fittest.

T. C. ELLIOTT.



## DOCUMENTS.

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It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare journals, diaries, letters or other documents throwing light upon the history of the Northwest. Effort will be made to reproduce such papers faithfully, errors and all, so that every student and reader may have them at face value.

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### Hudson Bay Company Letters.

While writing her last book, "McDonald of Oregon," Mrs. Eva Emery Dye obtained through the help of Mr. R. E. Gosnell, then in the employ of the British Columbia government, copies of a considerable number of old letters in the Canadian archives, which today are of exceeding interest in the history of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. These letters were written by the leading men of the Hudson Bay Company here from 1829 to 1840, including John McLoughlin, James Douglas, John Work, Peter S. Ogden, Archibald McDonald, Duncan Finlayson, J. E. Harriott, Wm. Todd and George T. Allen, and were addressed chiefly to John McLeod and Edward Ermatinger, names equally familiar in the records and annals of the Hudson Bay Company. These communications were in character a combination of friendship, confidence, business and gossip, making them more readable and in some respects more valuable than would be the purely official letters sent by the same men to the head office at Fenchurch Street, London. The Washington Historical Quarterly will take pleasure in reproducing in print these old letters, copies of which have been kindly furnished by Mrs. Dye, enabling them to take their proper place in the history of the North Pacific Coast.

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### Trouble With the Indians.

William Todd writes from York Factory on 15 July, 1829, to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Upper Canada, giving the latest news of Fort Vancouver, then but four years old. The Americans here casually referred to have been overlooked in the histories of this time and place.

York Factory 15th July 1829

Dear Edward

You will I believe not be much surprised at my replying to your esteemed favour from this place where I arrived the 5th inst after the usual agreeable journey across the mountains. As you

will naturally be anxious to hear the news from your old quarters (Vancouver) I shall without further ceremony commerce altho aware these will be more fully detailed by Frank and our old friend Work both of whom I left in good health the latter particularly sore at the late promotions and Frank talking as loud as ever bye the bye he appears a favourite with the great man.

You had hardly left Vanr. when we were put on the alert by Indian reports (of the capture of Fort Langley and massacre of Mr McMillan and party) it is needless to say without their being any foundation for them; nevertheless the Doctor took it much to heart and so far credited it that Mr Birnie was prepared to follow you express with the dismal news when it was contradicted. Nothing again of moment occurred till the arrival of the Brigade from the Interior Casualties on their way down three men drowned at the lower part of the Priests Rapids a keg of castoreum & some dressed skins lost Bostowvis was in the boat & had a narrow escape. An expedition against the Clalhins as Frank told me he had sent you his Journal which I have no doubt is a masterpiece of the kind and to which I refer you for particulars, It was a failure the effects of which has been since severely felt. Frank was talking high on the business without respect to persons, you know his way. On the 10th August Mr Smith an American & three men made their appearance being the Commissioner of a party of twenty men, I saw him in California which place he left in January with 315 horses & mules arrived at the Umpqua on the 10th July four days after his party attacked & sixteen murdered by the Indians he was himself absent with two men examining the country for grazing horses, his sensations on his return could not have been very pleasant he was fired on when he returned, but gained the woods without injury. One only of the party attacked made his escape after receiving several slight wounds. Another expedition must now be fitted out to recover this gentlemens property & this was not a very popular measure either with men or gentlemen as it was thought we would have difficulty enough to hold our own being already at war to the northward but the Dr. would have his way and Mr McLeod was again fitted out with a party to proceed there and after using his efforts, to continue his journey to the Bonaventura in California take of course all the beaver he could fall in with. He succeeded in recovering most of the furs but making considerable sacrifices and losing so much time that the winter set in before he had the business settled and was obliged to take up his quarters in his old hunting ground, he paid Vancouver a visit about Christmas time much to the astonishment of the Doctor who sanguine as usual imagined him near San Francisco. Your old friend Ouvrie had a narrow escape of leaving his scalp on one of his divisions his brother in law having killed an Indian who was accompanying him (Ouvrie) to Chicalias [Chehalis] and obliged him to return, the friends of the Indian who belong to the Fort George side took to their arms and would have soon made a finish had not the Princess\* sent him

out of the way till the hurry was over. The American Brig *Ouwyhee* paid us a visit in February & a schooner her consort in March both were then when we left fine picking for the mercenary Chinooks a beaver being now equal to five in days of yore. The Most melancholy part of my narrative relates to the Coy's Brig *Wm & Ann* she crossed the bar on the 10th March but from some fatality (I can call it nothing else) struck on the spit at the mouth of the River, Captain Swan & all the crew (I write in charge of Brandon House)

26 persons embarked in the boats & landed at Clatsop point when they were butchered by the natives not a soul left to tell the melancholy tale this no doubt will cause another war excursion it is to be hoped they will acquit themselves better than the last. Having now given you the principle heads I shall conclude with my sincere wishes for your future welfare & happiness & am

Dear Ned

Yours very truly

WM. TODD.

Miles says he will write you by the ship.

### Beginning of Fraser River Fisheries.

Archibald McDonald writes to a friend in the East, giving among the gossip a fine glimpse of the first attempts at using the salmon fisheries which have since grown to such vast proportions.

Fort Langley, 20th Feb'y, 1831

My dear Mc.

I have very great pleasure in acknowledging rect of your kind letter of July last from your old quarters, which came only to hand five days ago via Puget Sound after a march of 11 weeks thro the different tribes between Vancouver and this & when I tell you that my private letters alone furnished the whole of my news from Hudsons Bay, you can guess at the avidity with which I glanced over two & thirty of them. It is with very sincere regret I find by yours that you enjoyed but very indifferent health last season—a blessing as you say, we never sufficiently appreciate when we have it, & when decay and sickness overtake us, few mortals present a more dismal and forlorn situation than an Indian Trader, in a manner abandoned by the world & by himself. Thanks to the great Father of all blessings I have had little cause of complaint myself since I last had the pleasure to address you; yet I have had awful warnings about me. I have buried two of my men since—Jno. Kennedy who was unwell but still walked about entered our kitchen one day in the month of April and dropp'd dead on the floor. In the month of August, another of them (Therien) ran out of the Fort in sound health and was brought in a corpse in a very few minutes—his case was

\*Note.—Probably King Concomly's daughter.

an accident—shot by one of the Guns of the Vancouver. I was very sorry indeed to hear of poor McKenzies death, but no one tells me how it happened. Finlayson says he died in June, and you say it was in Jan'y. When I wrote to you last I was not aware of Mr. Deases fate, poor man—it would have been much better had he not returned to the Columbia. I should now like to give you some of our West side News and you know my itching in general for writing long letters; but really if I attempted on this occasion it would be with great disadvantage, for almost the whole of the occurrences of any importance in this quarter are known to me but by mere report; there is lots of it however, & the loss of another Brig is not the least important—their Honours liberality however in that way, by sending out two others beside, has saved other distance. One of them returned to England with the Returns and the other with the two schooners is cruising about I believe at present the Brig and the Vancouver are to California & the Sandwich Islands. with Deals and salted salmon, & the whole three of them on their return, will proceed with Ogdens Expedition to Nass, which from various causes was put off last year. He succeeded in the Snake country by Work and probably McLeod will be the Bearer of this. Our friend Black is at Kamloops and our t'other friend at Colville. I take no credit for this Kind of News to you, because it is such as everyone will report—then let us back again to Ft. Langley, where I shall defy any man to speak of, unless it passes thro my hands—to be more plain (for actually I do not thoroughly comprehend myself in what I wrote then (I shall write upon Frasers River affairs, because tis only myself that knows anything about it by having the field to myself, however, do not suppose that I impose upon you when I say that in the face of two vessels our Trade is not 150 skins less the Great Returns of the year before, and that this deficiency is more than made up by 220 Barrels of Salmon, and the Establishment now to one clerk and 10 men besides 2 or 3 raw Owhyhees. If the Americans are off this year I hope things will be still better. 'Am now preparing from 2 to 300 Barrels to be at the salmon immediately in the commencement of the season—they say a cooper is come across for me but we saw nothing of him as yet. In Consequence of my Casks of last season losing the pickle, the Dr. sent none of them to market but sent his own, and kept ours for home Consumption, so the end is always assured and perhaps this ought at all times to be the arrangement as the Columbia fish is acknowledged better than ours. Curious they are caught a week or two sooner at the bridge than here—last season it was approaching the end of August before they appeared here.

I must now congratulate you all on the great acquisition to your society of late. The Governor's residence at Red River must give a wonderful luster of the state of affairs there—and it is to be hoped that his own health will also improve there. I see our grand Joint Stock Company has fallen to the ground and an Experimental Farm substituted in its stead under the super-



intendance of my predecessor here. So you see our rank N'Westers give a hand to promote the interest of poor Red River—by the by I hand a letter from Mr. Halkett by the last conveyance—he has returned from the continent with Lady and family and were then living near London with Lady Isabella Douglas—Countess Selkirk was daily expected there with her two daughters from Scotland and Lord Selkirk was at Oxford—grown tall like his father—stout and in good health—what nonsense I do write to a man just returning from England—never mind I did not give it a thought at the moment that you was across the big water and I knew it would give you pleasure to hear of the family. Jenny and the Boys are well—I think I forgot to tell you that her 3'd came to the world last Oct'r—quite enough to transport out of this rascally country. You see I must conclude and it will be with fresh assurances of my sincere good wishes for your better health and prosperity—Yours

ARCH'D  
McDONALD.

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### Heavy Losses Reported.

J. F. Harriott, writing from Fort Vancouver, gives a gloomy picture of losses by wrecks and fever, and claims that men who had once served in this Northwest should not be compelled to return. This comports ill with the record of the many who came back to die in the land they had learned to love, even in its days of wildness.

To

John McLeod, Esq'r,  
Hon'ble H. B. Co.

Fort Vancouver, 25th Feb. 1831

Dear Sir,

As the express is preparing to part somewhat earlier than usual and as I have given up long since all hopes of accompanying it, I take my pen to address you a few lines to let you know that I am still living and enjoying good health though not so comfortably situated as I could wish, however I must put up with that part as well as I can and live in hopes of at any rate going out next spring. I am sorry to inform you that the Columbia has again been prolific in misfortunes, in fact more so than ever, in the first place the loss of the Isabella which although not attended with such melancholy circumstances as the wreck of the William & Ann caused a great commotion in the lower part of the Columbia and had not Dr. McLoughlin gone down himself I do not doubt that something very disagreeable would have taken place, even as it was he had some difficulty in keeping things together, the next on the list of misfortunes was Mr. Ogdens loss at the Dalles, one of his Boats was swallowed up in a whirlpool and nine men and a woman and two children perished and I am sorry to say what I met with a similar accident in a Rapid



a little above Okanagan one of my Boats struck upon a stone and upset and seven of the crew perished, add to all this misfortune the Intermitting Fever which broke out here in August and was still (when I reached this on the 1st Nov'r and for some time after) raging with great violence most of the inhabitants of the villages in this vicinity were carried off by it and a number of the women and children of the Establishment also some of our men Mr. Anderson died in December in fact that has no less than twenty-four of the Companys servants paid the debt of nature in some shape or other. It is really alarming to think of the number of deaths that have taken place in so short a time. I am afraid it will prevent people from volunteering for this side of the mountains. I am not however aware that many were ever over-anxious on that score but on the reverse rather desirous of keeping from it as long as they could. I know it was the case with me, though now was it not for my private misfortune I should be very well satisfied with my situation, but at all events would by far prefer going and coming from F F yearly—this arrises from an unselled [unsettled] disposition for I am never contented long in the same place.

Our vessels sailed in Nov'r, The Dryad Captain Simpson for Monterey laden with salted salmon and Deals and with the same commodities we are now daily looking out for them and when they arrive the famous Nass expedition will soon be set on foot, this Expedition was to have started last Fall but so many of our people were laid up with the Fever that rendered it altogether impossible to budge in fact when I reached this there was only one man on board the Dryad able to do duty all the rest were under the Hatches.

Mr. Simon McGillivray reached this on the 6th Jan'y and after regalling himself a few days at this place took his departure for Walla Walla to replace Mr. Barnston who intends to return at least to the East side of the Rocky Mountains Messrs. McLeod, Kittson, Pamburn Annance and Douglas are by the present arrangements to accompany the Express besides Messrs Connolly and McDonald who passed via Peace River this makes a great hole in our complement of Gentlemen a number of recruits will be wanted but really I do not see where they will come from, there are now very few who have not tasted the sweets of the Columbia and New Caledonia and it would certainly be considered hard to send those back who have already passed three or four years and have had the satisfaction of getting safe out of it.

I am sorry to inform you that our Returns have this year fallen off at least at this place and what renders it more disagreeable our expenditure is greater but I hope the ensuing campaign will turn out something handsome.

Wishing you a pleasant meeting with your family I remain

Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

J. E. HARRIOTT.

**Beaver Growing Scarce.**

Peter Skeen Ogden, who later became Chief Factor of New Caledonia, continued on the West Coast until, at the age of sixty, he died in Oregon City at the home of his son-in-law, Archibald McKinlay, in 1854. In this chatty letter he gives some quaint views of life as well as news of the day.

John McLeod, Esq'r  
&c. &c. &c.

Col. River.  
Vancouver 10 March, 1831

My dear Sir,

On my arrival last Feb'y from my Trapping Excursion I received your friendly favor from Norway House dated August 1829 and was glad to find from it that you did not include me amongst the evil disposed towards you—pray what motive could I have to injure any man even granting he had injured me it would in my opinion be a miserable retaliation. On the arrival of Mr. Harriott in the Fall I was dissappointed in not hearing from you but as he informed me you were making preparations for a voyage across the Atlantic on the plea of ill health this I trust you are again in the enjoyment of and I am fully convinced a visit to their Honors occasionally in Fenchurch Street with some well tim'd remark is of more service than 10 years hard labour in this Country and will eventually well repay you the money you have expended while in London. Our friend Lewis has succeeded and I consider him a fortunate man but still more so old Capt. McKenzie who long since I had consigned to his grave and who really is not in want, but no doubt all these things are wisely ordain'd and every man's time will come in the course of time. I am so much harrassed here that I shall not enter into particulars but refer you to Mr. Harriott who intends writing you a long letter we have spent the winter in the same room. Bachelors and have both behaved uncommonly well a good change in me, since you left the Columbia I have increased the number of my children by ten and although I should remain Fifty years longer in the Country not one more will add to the number the Bachelors Flag I have hoisted and if ever I leave it, it will not be in the H. B. Coys territories. I was not so successful in my last years Trapping as the year preceding although I extended my trails by far greater distance to the Gulph of California but found Beaver very scarce and unfortunately below the main Dalls of the Col. my own Boat was engulfed in a Whirlpool and 9 men drowned. I had a most narrow escape—on my arrival here I found from the Committee Letter I was appointed to form an Establishment at a place called Nass about 10 degrees to the Northward of this and was to have sail'd last Fall but an infectious fever made its appearance amongst the Natives carried off upwards of two hundred and our servants unfortunately took it and for three Months

we had no one at our command. We are now again making preparations for this same place. I know not what success I may meet with there but I am not of the opinion our wealth will be increased.

Our friend Work has succeeded me in the Snake country I accompanied him as far as Nez Perces and gave him a fair starting—surely this man deserves a most substantial reward than he now enjoys it is an unpleasant situation he fills I wish him every success but it is all a lottery.

Believe me to be

Yours truly

PETER SKEIN OGDEN.

P. S. My regards to Charlotte and the children

Mr. Black, Thompson River

Mr. Simon Nez Perce

Mr. Ermatinger here

Mr. Heron Colville a snug birth [berth]

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#### Reference to Americans.

John Work here gives just a tantalizing reference to a meeting with Americans at that early date. He also pictures the dangers these daring men continually encountered.

Fort Nez Perces 6th September 1831

Dear Sir,

It is with much pleasure I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favour of 30th July 1830, which was handed me on my arrival from Snake country about a month and a half ago. I was sorry to hear of your ill health, but hope that ere now your visit to the civilized world has completely renewed you indeed I had the pleasure to hear from Capt. Kipling that you were all well before the Ganymede sailed from London. I envy you the pleasure you have enjoyed of civilized life, which I have so long deprived myself of. I fear the seclusion of an Indian life with its want of comfort or anything like enjoyment will be very irksome to you. My last campaign in the Snake country was not so successful as I had anticipated, the return and profits were nevertheless pretty fair considering the exhausted state of the country and the great severity and unusual length of the winter, which was greatly against our trapping operations. Moreover we met some parties of Americans who had hunted some portions of the country through which we meant to pass. I escaped with a scalp last year. I much doubt whether I shall be so fortunate this trip. I am now just starting for the borders of the Blackfeet and F Head lands a much more dangerous part of the country than which I passed last year. My party is too weak for the undertaking, but from the sickness prevailing at Vancouver no more men could be spared but as this is the only quarter now where there is a likelihood of making anything we must try. The country to the southward is ruined so much

that little or nothing is to be done in it. An intermittent fever was raging at Vancouver when I left, this scourge was carrying off the few wretched natives who escaped last year, it had also attacked several of the people about the establishment. My people did not escape it several of them were taken ill, and some of them remained so badly that I am obliged to leave them here as they are not able to proceed, this I much regret as my numbers at first were too weak. Before this reaches you you will have had all the Columbian news. I need therefore not trouble you on the subject. Wishing you every manner of happiness I remain my dear sir

Yours sincerely & truly

JOHN WORK.

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### Beginning of Fort Simpson.

Archibald McDonald tells of the successful establishment of Fort Simpson and at the same time chats along about Fort Langley and his pleasant surroundings there.

John McLeod, Esq'r.

Fort Langley 15th Jan'y 1832

My dear Sir,

Your very usual kind token of remembrance for me, duly came to hand last fall, & I congratulate you most sincerely on the happy change in your own health within the last twelve months, this, as you say, is of all others the most valuable promotion we can enjoy & to appearance thos who have the state of us in that respect, seem to make up their minds to sacrifice everything to a constant adherence to their state of commotion. There may be some policy in begging their continuance in the service, but I cannot see into it, unless tis that of making the Bench of Counsellors more respectable by being gray and venerable. I have no doubt you will find your situation in the Labrador more cheerful and comfortable than at Jack river and it may perhaps after all lead to greater renown. I am glad to hear you had so favourable an interview with the great Folk of the concern at home, & one thing certain those occasional visits to England can do a man no harm, especially when he can do it at his own expense, and with becoming respectability. Our friend Clark did not write me on his return. I wish you had given me more of his adventures. Were you and he always of the same opinion? I hear not. Mr. Stewart you must have found a most amiable man and I conceive you are very fortunate in your choice of a traveling companion—he wrote me a long letter from York and gave me some interesting news from Glencoe, Appin and Fasnacloich. From this part of the world I should now like to be doubly particular with you, and I shall expect in return the same compliment—it is but fair that we should be so, from the two extremes of America, & everybody else in the intermediate space. To begin with then, in the first



place, you will be glad to hear that I myself happily weather over another years campaign on the N. W. coast, & thank God I can further say that I have experienced nothing very unpleasant either of a public or private nature since I last had the pleasure to address you and what is more, when I add that with these blessings everything prospered, you will own that I have reason indeed, to be satisfied, I should rather say thankful. Man's life now in the Columbia has become mere lottery—your friend Joseph Moreau and 2 or 3 others were drowned at the Cascades last summer—a couple of men also perished below Alexandria in Frasers river & 10 to 1 there will be some loss in the Snake country,—this with the natural deaths make the score melancholy enough. Among the latter we have to lament the loss of poor Lieutenant Simpson who died on board his own vessel at Mr. Ogdens new Establishment last Sept of a Liver Complaint after a few days illness. In the cruise of the season he had seen the land party picketed in and secured, and then made a very successful cruise on the coast from which he was only returned 14 days when he was a corpse. Independent of his loss to the concern I regret him very much as a private friend. I am sorry to say with you in confidence however that he was not over popular with us—the cause you know as well as I do, and poor man he has now left his command and his commission to divide among them—the latter he did not live to see—a Mr. Kipling who came out with the last English vessel is now the commanding officer, and Capt. Ryan who broke the Isabella went home in charge of the Ganymede. Sinclair [Cadbrow] and Duncan [Vancouver] have the 2 schooners Nass, you see is established, & with less risk & difficulty than was originally apprehended Mason writes me he did not find the Natives by one half so bad as those of Frasers River & the Gulf of Georgia. The spot chosen is not I believe very favourable for gardening, nor does it appear that Nass is the entrance of any considerable stream. The principal river thereabouts according to recent discovery made by the deceased is more to the Northward—however an acc't of the shipping and other considerations perhaps Ft. Simpson is just as well where it is for in my opinion there is no river that will lead to an easy communication with the back settlements of N. Caledonia. There is Beaver in this quarter but the price is enormous, still the Yankees stick to it and what is more strange they say they make something by their labour Here we get rid of our opposition—a very fortunate circumstance—we are gaining by it in many respects, but in none more substantial than in a considerable increase of Trade.

Fort Langley this year is up from 1400 to 2,500 Beaver—tariff rose from 1 to Two skins the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pr. Blks—which I trust will be found a good start for one year. Our salmon, for all the contempt entertained for everything out of the routine of Beaver at York Factory, is close upon 300 Barrels and I have descended to Oil & Blubber too though not on your large scale—so that



altogether, whatever others may think of Frasers River, I am well satisfied with its proceeds myself.

Late last Fall after the Indians left the river, I ventured on a trip to see the Dr. & Mrs. Harriott—then. I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter, for Mr. Finlayson was arrived a few days before me. At that time he and Harriott were below at old Fort George previous to the sailing of the London ship. Had I arrived with them a few days sooner tis probable I would have taken a passage in her to the Islands—either the Young Factor—Harriott—or myself will go this season. I will say no more of Columbia River news. Harriott goes out this Spring with the acc'ts accompanied by Heron—your last year's laws give me 15 years of the blessed country—go who will McDonald can't budge—therefore I begin to make myself as comfortable and happy as I can where I am. Our Gardens increase our comfort in this way & I have now 4 milch cows in already killed 3 pigs this winter, and 3 more are fattening this with country resources in abundance you will own ought to keep a little establishment like mine in perfect affluence. What I regret most is the condition of the Boys—for there is nothing like early education—however I keep them at it Mother and all. My chinook now reads pretty well and has commenced cyphering. Your children must soon afford you great pleasure and happiness. Mr. James Douglas gave me a very flattering account of Flora and her education ought to be followed up. Jenny returns the kind compliment of Charlotte & sympathises with her much in the melancholy loss her family met with lately—we knew nothing of it on this side till this fall.

Now you see what an industrious correspondent I am; and within a wall of 200 ft. square to fill a whole sheet, how many would I not fill had I like you semi-traversed the Globe and back again. I flatter myself I shall this fall have something from you worthy of travel so extensive and of incidents and occurrences unquestionably interesting. Let us hear all about old friends and acquaintances in Canada. I have no letter from Edw'd Ermatinger last fall. With sincere good wishes for your good health and prosperity

I am,

My dear Sir,

With the usual regard

Yours

ARCH'D McDONALD.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

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**The Spirit of American Government.** By James Allen Smith, Professor of Political and Social Science, University of Washington. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907, 409 pp., \$1.25.)

In his remarkable book, "The Spirit of American Government," Professor Smith has done in an exceedingly brilliant way what is bound to win the hearty approval and enthusiastic applause of every close student of our constitutional system and of American politics. His exposition of the constitution and political development under it should be read by every intelligent American citizen, certainly by every student of history, politics or economics. In a masterly way Professor Smith shows the undemocratic character of the constitutional machinery of our government, and his plea for democracy as over against the order of aristocracy and privilege safeguarded by our undemocratic constitution is splendid in its logical clearness and its humanitarian ring.

The author shows in a convincing way that it was the aim of the constitution of 1787 to frame a constitution, the democratic form of which would assure its ratification, while it should be so constructed as to guard the government as much as possible from the supposed tyranny of the majority, and be also so capable of elastic construction as to enable the federal party to strengthen the central government and to limit effectually the power of the people. "It may be said without exaggeration that the American scheme of government was planned and set up to perpetuate the ascendancy of the property-holding class in a society leavened with democratic ideas" (p. 298). "While honestly believing that we have been endeavoring to make democracy a success, we have at the same time tenaciously held on to the essential features of a political system designed for the purpose of defeating the ends of popular government" (p. 303).

In his opening chapter Professor Smith gives a brief but clear and adequate characterization of the development of the system of checks and balances in the English government, showing their non-democratic character down to the Reform Bill of 1832. The next chapter discusses the democratic influence of the Revolution on colonial government, the significant mark of which influence was the tendency toward supreme legislatures. The conservative Loyalist element, rendered ineffective by the

political reorganization following the Declaration of Independence, asserted itself after the Revolution. Upon the return of peace this element of conservatism, representing so largely the wealth and culture of the colonies, regained some measure of its influence, swept away by the Democratic wave of 1776. The strength of this class was augmented, too, by that part of the Revolutionary party that did not subscribe to radicalism. Then too hard times resulting from the economic disturbances of the time, in part at least one of the fruits of the war favored reaction. Distress and discontent were abroad in the land, consequently any change was apt to receive a popular welcome. Thus can be explained the reaction from the democratic tendencies of the Revolution—a reaction that found expression and embodiment in the federal constitution, which even today, because of its non-democratic nature, forces upon us a continued tolerance of abuses that belong to the aristocratic order of privilege and blocks the path of American democracy in its march toward the goal of social improvement. Consequently, at the present time, as Professor Smith so well says, “We are trying to make an undemocratic constitution the vehicle of democratic rule (p. 31).”

The constitutional convention desired not only to establish a strong and vigorous central government, but also a stable one that would not be dangerously responsive to public opinion, a government that would restrain democracy. Hence they placed in the constitution only such features of popular government as they deemed necessary to assure its adoption. Among the non-democratic features of our fundamental law is its difficult provision for amendment. Difficulty of amendment makes for conservatism and tends to thwart popular desire for change—change demanded by general social progress. The history of our attempts at amendment is ample proof that those conservors of property and propertied interests in the convention did their work well in so far as the power of amendment is concerned.

Our author points out clearly the non-democratic character of the federal Supreme Court. The absolute presidential veto to operate directly on acts of Congress and indirectly on State legislation, proposed by Hamilton, has become vested in our Supreme Court, whose powers are unique in the history of government. This power of our courts was not granted, however, by the constitution. It was developed by interpretation under Federal party rule. The Supreme Court itself established its own autocratic authority, which makes it impossible for the people

to enact effective laws without the consent of the judiciary, if any one by suit disputes a law. Men favorable to the federal ideal of centralized and more or less aristocratic rule were our first justices and so the Federal party was able to carry out the spirit of the constitution, the spirit of the protection of property and vested interests against the rule of the majority. By judicial interpretation, not by constitutional grant, the Supreme Court has become in our political system what Professor Burgess has called "the aristocracy of the robe," possessing a veto power on legislation and a power of amendment that the constitution denies to the people. Under a democratic government the people have the right to both secure such legislation as they want and to prevent such as they do not want. In our system, however, the veto power of the judiciary makes this impossible, in which veto power survives the monarchic principle of supreme power and supreme wisdom. In connection with his able discussion of our judicial system, Professor Smith asks this pertinent question: "One may well ask, after viewing these decisions (legal tender, interstate commerce, income tax and insular cases) if constitutional interpretation as practiced by the Supreme Court is really a science in the pursuit of which the individual temperament, personal views and political sympathies of the justices do not influence the result? Have we gained enough under this system in the continuity and consistency of our legal policy and its freedom from class or political bias to compensate us for the loss of popular control?" Our whole legal and judicial development characterized by its extremely tender regard for property and vested interests has furthered alliance between our legal class and corporate power, and the reviewer is not certain that Professor Smith is right in implying that our legal policy has been free from class bias and from political bias in so far as politics have been related to class interests.

As to the system of checks and balances in our constitution, "It is to be observed, then, that what originally commended the system to the people was the fact that it limited the positive power of the king and aristocracy, while the framers of the constitution adopted it with a view of limiting the power of the people themselves."

It is significant, as Professor Smith points out, that the executive is not bound to execute the laws of Congress. His oath of office is to "execute the office of President \* \* \* and preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

With Richard Henry Lee we may say that "The only check to be found in favor of the democratic principle in this system (of checks and balances) is the House of Representatives, which, I believe, may justly be called a mere shred or rag of representation."

The constitution marked off the limits of federal and State jurisdiction, without specifying how the federal and State governments were to be kept within their respective boundaries, but the federal government found a means of protecting itself by calling into being the judicial veto, which made operative checks upon the authority of the States, but where was the power of checking the federal government? As Professor Smith says, "To carry out in good faith what appeared to be the purpose of the constitution, i. e., to limit the authority of the general government as well as that of the States, it would seem to be necessary to make each the judge of the other's powers (p. 169)." The author quotes the significant observation of Von Holst, "Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances."

Not only was our government undemocratic in the beginning, but popular control over the only element in the government representing the people, the House of Representatives has become less and less effective as our political system has developed. A newly elected house does not meet in regular session until thirteen months after its election. Its second regular session does not begin until after the succeeding Congress has been elected. Consequently a Congress often legislates for a people by whom it has been repudiated (p. 189).

Our party system is in complete rapport with the irresponsible character of the government. A strictly party system is repugnant to minority rule. Such a system enforces a rule of the majority. The American political party, however, while professing to stand for majority rule, has become an additional and powerful check on the majority. The constitution has so checked the power of the majority that the American political party makes promises knowing that it will probably never have power to carry them out, whereas an English political party makes promises that it knows it will be expected to fulfill, and finds itself



able to do so if elected. Hence, while the English party is responsible, the American party is not. Consequently American citizens are not enthusiastically interested in their parties, whose promises so often mean nothing; while the office-seeker and the franchise grabber is interested in what the party may be able to get for him. Our party system thus discourages unselfish, public-spirited party interest, while it appeals to those who use politics for selfish ends. The machine politician and his corporate allies tend to dominate our party politics, an evil condition that is traceable to the checks of the constitution on the will of the majority. The evils of our party system "are the outcome, not of too much, but of too little democracy."

The State constitutions also reflected the reactionary movement that was given such clear expression to in the federal constitution, the judicial veto being established and difficult processes of constitutional amendment being adopted. In a State, a political party may conceivably secure a two-thirds majority in the Legislature, but its lack of responsibility to the people and its connection with national politics make it an untrustworthy instrument for amending a constitution. The reactionary changes in the State constitutions were due in part to the non-democratic reaction and in part also to an emulative spirit in the people, who were deluded into believing that the constitution was a perfect embodiment of the principle of democracy. This emulative and venerative spirit did not, however, lead the States to adopt indirect election of Governor and Senate. Furthermore the State conservative reaction was followed by a new democratic movement, resulting in making the State judiciary more amenable to the people than the corresponding branch of the federal government. However, "the relatively long term for which judges of the State supreme court are elected, and the plan of gradual renewal makes this body the most conservative in the State government. The State government differs from the federal in having a multitude of executives, in local officers and State boards and commissions, a condition of divided responsibility that invites corruption and corporate control. The city, the home of so much of our political shame, has been denied home rule and has been made the subject of exploitation by party machines. While some steps have been taken by way of constitutional amendments to reduce State control of municipal affairs, yet even the provisions granting considerable home rule embody limitations and restrictions that put a great check on majority rule.

Besides, judicial interpretations of these constitutional provisions have robbed them of much of their democratic force, since the courts have held that cities must govern themselves in conformity with the constitution and laws already enacted and to be enacted. Professor Smith makes a powerful plea for a larger measure of municipal freedom in the matter of taxation and indebtedness, a measure of just freedom that has not been allowed even by State constitutions most friendly to home rule (p. 272). The purposes of debt limitation are discussed by the author in a most interesting and enlightening way, showing in particular how these limitations were intended to protect the propertied and capitalistic classes and that they constitute another expression of the distinguishing feature of the spirit of American government, distrust of majority rule. The author shows the tendency in municipally owned water and light plants to a policy of profit for the benefit of the taxpayers at the expense of the general users of the water or light. These arguments are supported by interesting statistics (pp. 278 ff). The establishment of universal suffrage has worked against home rule in cities by making the conservative element in control of state politics anxious to control the cities also. This desire has been furthered by corrupt politicians and grasping business interests so that our municipal conditions are the natural result of an alliance between conservatism and corruption. Although he does not call it by that name, Professor Smith points out that it is "the business man's government," not the influence of the ignorant and vicious, except the reviewer would add in so far as they have been used by the "business man," that is the source of our city fraud and corruption. It is "the big graft," as Dr. Frederic C. Howe calls it, that makes our cities a political disgrace. "The evils of municipal government are not the evils of democracy, but the evils of a system which limits the power of the majority in the interest of the minority (p. 290)."

In his chapter dealing with individual liberty, the author gives a splendid discussion of the eighteenth century doctrine of individualism in its political bearings, both in England and in America after the Revolution. With splendid clearness Professor Smith repeats that whereas once "the many advocated the limitation of the power of king and aristocracy in the interest of liberty," the conservative classes in 1787 advocated the limitation of the power of the many for the protection of the propertied few. The extreme and too often unjustifiable tenderness of the

courts for property and vested interests is discussed in a telling way.

The next chapter contains a splendid discussion of the tariff, the contract labor law and immigration in relation to labor. There is a protest against the greed that secures a tariff and with a cry of pretended humanitarianism and democracy clamors for free immigration—in order that American labor may be cheap, an immigration, beginning with that of African slaves, that has given us most serious political, social and economic problems, and has made easier the way of the political boss and the grasping corporation in its greedy pursuit of gain.

Hope of amending the constitution lies in the development of democracy in the States, since Congress must upon the application of two-thirds of the State legislatures call a convention to propose amendments. Such a convention may well throw overboard the present constitution as the fathers did the Articles of Confederation and propose a constitution that will ensure majority government. This possibility may at least serve to frighten the interests profiting by the present order into allowing some constitutional concession to democracy.

In State and local politics, broadening of the suffrage, secret voting and the direct primary make conditions less undemocratic, but there is needed in addition to these some means of insuring the responsibility of public offices after election. This may be secured by the recall, while the initiative and the referendum will bring in much democracy into our State and municipal governments. "It is through our State governments that we must approach the problem of reforming the national government. Complete control of the former will open the door that leads to eventual control of the latter. Democratize the State governments, and it will be possible even to change the character of the United States Senate. With a State Legislature directly nominated and subject to removal through the use of the recall, it will be possible to deprive that body of any real power in the selection of United States Senators. Under these conditions the Legislature would merely ratify the candidate receiving a majority of the popular vote just as the electoral college has come to ratify the popular choice of the President. In this way direct nomination and direct election of United States Senators could be made really effective, while at the same time preserving the form but not the substance of election by the State legislatures (p. 357)."

The author discourses in a most enlightening way on the effect upon morality of a transition from minority to majority rule. Much of the apparently greater immorality of today is due to our higher ethical standards, while the means of discovering offenses against society are far greater and more effective today than in the past. There is of course some increase in evil because of the abandonment of the old superstitious belief in future rewards and punishments, but this increase is but temporary and need give us no great concern. Our whole system of business fraud and political corruption is an effect of the struggle between the old system of minority rule and the coming system of majority rule,—corruption is used to combat majority rule. The widespread disregard of law that characterizes American society today is explained by the struggle between the minority and the majority principles of government. We are not declining in morality; we are struggling toward a higher plane of existence.

In his concluding chapter on democracy of the future, Professor Smith discusses democracy and the leaven it brings into society. Democracy is as an intellectual or a moral movement according to our viewpoint; intellectual, in that it presupposes a more or less general diffusion of intelligence; moral, in that its aim is justice. Everywhere democracy stands for political and social reform. On its economic side it protests against the small share that the masses have received of the results of our great material progress and demands control of the State in order that economic justice may be achieved.

Our author shows that in our artificial social environment, survival is too often of the unfit, an idea that in the opinion of the reviewer cannot be too vigorously and persistently proclaimed. Under present conditions those who survive are but too often fit only for their immoral or unjust environment, which worship of success too often mistakes for a natural or at least desirable environment. "Success is a matter of adaptation to the environment, or the power to use it for individual ends,—not the power to improve and enrich it. The power to take from, is nature's sole test of fitness to live; but the power to enrich is a higher test, and one which society must enforce through appropriate legislation. \* \* \* The problem which democracy has to solve is the problem of so organizing the environment as to assure progress through the success and survival of the best (p. 402)."

RAYMOND V. PHELAN.



**The Eleven Eaglets of the West.** By Paul Fountain, author of "The Great North West and the Great Lake Region of America." (London: John Murray, 1906, pp. x, 362.)

This book is the attempt to describe the reaction produced by a series of tours through the Western States at a time when these were still practically unsettled. These States are designated as the eleven eaglets, a truly significant term, and comprise California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Nevada. There is no continuity in the trips described, as they cover a number of years and many separate expeditions.

Mr. Fountain's book is written with such a peculiar style and arrangement as to keep it from ever becoming a popular account of a voyage, and its lack of order and accuracy destroys any historical or scientific value it might otherwise possess. At a great many inopportune places the author takes occasion to manifest a childish resentment against his previous reviewers, and replies to all criticisms that it is his way and therefore the correct manner for him to write, which may all be true, but which undoubtedly works a hardship on the readers of the book. It is at any rate not overly pleasing to have the description of some sublime scene interrupted by such a tirade. It is also exceedingly difficult to find out just where the author is supposed to be, as the results of several journeys are lumped, as it were, and no distinctions as to time are made. Altogether, the book in this respect is very vague and unsatisfactory. Of course this gives one a sort of snap-shot of the country under view, but after all the snap-shot is blurred in outline and very badly out of focus. Many of the descriptions resemble those we read in a hotel prospectus, as they are hackneyed and use all the conventional adjectives, especially in those scenes with which we are all more or less familiar, by description at least; such as the Grand Canyon, Yosemite and Yellowstone. Mr. Fountain does not seem to realize the beauty of simplicity, as there is too much ornate description and not enough of the simple and deep appreciation of nature.

Mr. Fountain's trips were no doubt very interesting, and a clear-cut description of them would be delightful reading and would possess great historical and scientific interest as being an account of a by-gone day. But no one cares to read page after page of description, always couched in the same language, and when the scene is not clearly defined. There are rarely descriptions of the people or towns of the trip.



The author is a firm believer in the Indian of James Fenimore Cooper, and holds that all his faults are the results of the unjust and unfair treatment he has continually received. Many of the faults of the Indians are undoubtedly the results of civilization, but it is equally true that the Indian before the coming of the white man was not the model that the author harps on. "In North America, in the Rocky Mountains, and east of that range, I have found the Indian a courageous, manly and noble-hearted fellow—a man such as Cooper and other writers of the past century, who had a personal knowledge of him, have painted him." In another place he remarks that "Generally speaking, the scientific writers on the red man know nothing worth knowing about him, his original distribution, language, habits or religion." Mr. Fountain, however, is quite willing to supply this lack of knowledge, and to deride all scientific study of the Indian as well.

Another frequent assertion that can hardly be accepted is the statement that "No wanderer need perish in any of the wilds of America. I am convinced that the Northern Continent could be tramped across with ease by anybody worthy of the name of a backwoodsman." Most of the inhabitants of pioneer towns remember well authenticated cases of experienced woodsmen starving in the wilderness, and the author himself came very near perishing of thirst in the desert regions. Yet again and again statements like the above are met, so often, in fact, that the repetition becomes most exasperating.

Mr. Fountain, had he been sufficiently capable, might easily have produced an account which, like Bates Naturalist on the Amazon, would have become a classic. But the more scientific aspect of the story of his travels is perhaps even more disappointing than the merely descriptive element. The author had an unrivalled opportunity to become acquainted with the habits and habitat of many of our fast-disappearing animals, but most of his work consists of the mere cataloguing of names. At times there can be found a whole page or more of names of the animals and plants seen, but this list is of no value inasmuch as the area included under the list is so large, practically a whole State being considered at a time, and there is no indication of the time of year at which the list was made out. If such a list had been carefully compiled it would have been exceedingly valuable for a study of the changes in distribution which have taken place, but this golden opportunity has been neglected. Even the catalogue as given is frequently incorrect, as there is no attempt at

a scientific nomenclature and there are mistakes in the common names, such as calling a katydid a kittydad, and speaking of the wapiti as the wipiti. Such mistakes discredit the entire account. A great deal of the possible scientific value of the book is destroyed by the fact that Mr. Fountain is a confirmed, bitter and unreasonable enemy of any evolutionary doctrine, and an equally firm believer in the outworn and outgrown special creation theory. He says: "I do not accept the theories of professional naturalists, having a first-hand proof that many of the most widely accepted of their doctrines are of no real value; and I am satisfied that animals occupy the habitats to which they were originally appointed by their Creator. But it may not be out of place to ask the advocates of animal emigration how it happens that such creatures as the burrowing owl (which has but the poorest power of flight) and rattlesnakes, and a thousand and one other creatures with no particular powers of locomotion, have not found the Rockies, to say nothing of the mountains of Central America, and such rivers as the Mississippi and the Amazons, an insuperable barrier to their wanderings?" This is a fair example of the scientific reasoning to be found throughout the entire book.

On the whole, Mr. Fountain has not written either an entertaining book or a useful one. The book suffers from too much discursiveness, a lack of an extensive and definite vocabulary, and from the poor style and arrangement. It is not a useful book because of its indefinite and vague statements, its frequent mistakes, and the opinionated attitude of the author, together with his frequent tirades against the holders of beliefs differing from his own.

SISTER INGER ANTHON.

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**The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-16.** Edited, with introduction and notes, by Edward G. Bourne. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 2 vols.)

While many of the publishers are competing with each other in the publication of elaborate and artistic limited editions of the journals of the early travellers and explorers, it is a pleasure to welcome "The Trail Makers," a series of journals at a popular price (\$1 each).

This edition is translated from the French one of 1632. Prof. Bourne selected this edition because it "is in a very definite sense a revised and final edition by the author of his earlier publica-

tions," and also because Champlain appears "not only as a narrator of his own explorations, but as the historian of the earlier French discoveries and as the earliest French writer on colonization."

All the previous translations of Champlain's writings have been used as guides, though there can obviously be few variations in a true translation. The voyage of 1603, which was reprinted in Purchas His Pilgrimes, is also included in this edition.

The value of such a source as this is hard to overestimate. The impression gained is more vital and lasting than any story at second or third hand can be.

The "History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark" (3 vols.) appears in the same series, with an introduction written by Prof. John Bach McMaster, who also supplies the historical notes.

This edition is a complete reprint of the Biddle edition of 1814, to which all the members of the expedition contributed. This edition, it will be remembered, was compiled by Nicholas Biddle out of a total of over 1,200,000 words. More elaborate editions have been made since the re-discovery of the Lewis and Clark manuscripts, but the price is almost prohibitive except for very large libraries. "The Trail Makers" series is planned for those of more moderate means.

The publishers claim for the series "The advantages of an interesting, straightforward, consecutive narrative over an exhaustive and exhausting compilation of all available material."

"The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions" (1 vol.) is a later issue in the same series. This volume is translated by Fanny Bandelier and the introduction is written by Ad. F. Bandelier.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were the first whites to cross North America, having made the trip from Florida to the Pacific Coast in 1528-1536.

The original of this translation was published at Zamora in 1542 and only two copies of it are known to exist. One at the Lenox branch of the Public Library of New York, the other at the British Museum.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

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**An Introduction to the English Historians.** By Charles A. Beard. (New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.60 net.)

This volume of nearly 700 pages is another evidence of the progress we are making in the teaching of history. It consists

of fifty-four extracts of varying length from the standard histories of England and is an attempt to place a satisfactory body of reading in English history in such shape as to be convenient.

Reading in history outside of the text-book is now almost universally required and that question need not be argued.

The problem confronting the teacher in schools having small library facilities, or with large classes, is to get this reading done carefully and critically and at a time when the particular topic is reached in the text-book or lectures. Every live teacher has attempted to solve this question in some way.

Prof. Beard's book is a very creditable attempt, and we think a reasonably successful one. With this book in the hands of the pupil the teacher can know that a reasonable amount of the best writing on English history is within reach of the pupil. Careful study and discussion can be insisted upon.

Further study and reading are of course not prevented; in fact, the author's purpose is to stimulate the student to further reading.

Teachers will differ, perhaps, as to the selections chosen, but it is sufficient to say that every one is good, if not the best.

Prof. Beard has done a helpful piece of work, and the book will undoubtedly have a wide use, both in college and high school.

A detailed table of contents cannot be given here, but a few extracts may be noted as indicative of the scope of the book:

"Alfred the Great and English Learning," Green, conquest of England; "The Mediaeval Guilds," Ashley, economic history, etc.; "John Wyclif and the Church," Trevelyan, England in the age of Wycliffe; "Charles I. and His Accusers," Gardiner, history of the great Civil War; "Walpole and His System," Morley's Walpole.

Each extract is preceded by a short introduction, accompanied by exact reference to the original text, and followed by a brief bibliographical note.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

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**King Philip's War.** By George W. Ellis and John E. Morris. (New York: Grafton Press.)

The narrative and references are the work of Mr. Ellis and the copious biographical and local notes that of Mr. Morris.

The authors have made extended use of the sources in writing the book, but seem not to be able in telling the story to free themselves from the necessity of citing and quoting.

Parkman made perhaps as careful use of his material, but his style is not loaded down with the evidences.

Philip's war does not stir the blood in its narration like other wars, perhaps, and our authors have added little to the facts in the telling. The campaigns are ragged and detailed to a degree. The material in the hands of more skillful writers would make an interesting story. This one is far from interesting.

Yet the work is not without its value. One feels that a great amount of time has been spent in collecting the data.

Numerous passages show us the grim God of the Puritan. We see the curious conceptions of life and duty as they framed themselves in the Puritan mind, and at times one wonders who were the real savages—Puritans or Indians.

The policy toward the Indians almost consciously calculated to drive them to desperation is adequately told. Instead of finding in their inhuman treatment of the Indians the cause of the uprising, they saw only a permission given by God "to the barbarous heathen to rise up against and become a smart rod, a severe scourge to us," for such an unpardonable crime, for instance, as was committed by some women "wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling and immodest laying out of their hair, especially among the younger sort."

The Indians as "heathenism and blood-thirsty blasphemers who made war on God's people," had, of course, no right and were shown no mercy.

The whole story is replete with savagery and makes it extremely hard to justly estimate our Puritan forefathers.

EDWARD M'MAHON.



## NEWS DEPARTMENT

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### Honoring the Memory of William Clark.

Because a number of historic spots have been marked in Washington during the last few years by the placing of bronze tablets and stone pillars, and also because of our love of the history of William Clark, the people of the Pacific Northwest will be glad to preserve in this permanent form a record of recent honors paid to his memory. The centennial anniversary of the return of the Lewis and Clark expedition to St. Louis (September 22, 1906,) was chosen as the occasion for unveiling a bronze tablet, placed on a building occupying the site of the old home in St. Louis where Governor Clark lived his last years and where he died. The tablet was the gift of the National Bank of Commerce. It was designed and erected under the direction of the Civic League of St. Louis and the Missouri Historical Society, which organizations also had charge of the ceremonies.

The act of unveiling was done by Miss Marie Christy Church, great-great-granddaughter of General Clark.

In the evening Henry T. Kent, President of the Civic League, presided. The presentation speech was made by J. C. Van Blarcom, President of the National Bank of Commerce, and the speech of acceptance was made by Judge Walter B. Douglas, on behalf of the Missouri Historical Society.

The orator of the day was Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D., of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, editor of the best edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. His subject was "William Clark: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman." This address was published in the Missouri Historical Society Collections, volume II, number 7, but notwithstanding that fact it is reproduced in this Quarterly for the benefit of Northwestern readers who might find the Missouri publication difficult or impossible of access.

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### Seward, Empire-Builder and Seer.

Under this title there appeared in Putnam's Monthly for June a beautifully illustrated article by Charles M. Harvey, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. The timeliness of the article is seen when it is recalled that in the same month of June occurs the fortieth anniversary of the ratification of the Alaska Purchase Treaty. Besides giving an appreciative sketch of Seward and

his work, the author refers to the purposes of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and to the plans of the people of Seattle to honor Seward by the erection of a fine bronze statue to be unveiled during the exposition.

The following paragraphs will give an idea of the spirit of the article:

"'I defy any man on the face of the earth,' exclaimed Washburn of Wisconsin, while the appropriation bill was before the House in 1867, 'to produce any evidence that an ounce of gold has ever been found in Alaska.' In 1906 Alaska furnished us \$22,000,000 of gold, or three times the sum which Seward paid for the Territory. It will probably give us at least \$26,000,000 of that metal in 1907. Alaska produced more gold in 1906 than any other single community in the United States except Colorado, leaving California far behind; in 1907 it is likely to lead Colorado. And nearly all of this is from the placers. Thus far the surface of the gold-producing area has only been scratched."

"When on his deathbed, Seward was asked what he believed to be the greatest achievement of his public career of forty years, he answered: 'The annexation of Alaska. But,' he added, 'it will take the country a generation to find out Alaska's value.' This, too, was prophetic. It was thirty-four years after Seward's death—in 1872—that Congress passed the Alaska Territorial Act."

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### **Jesse Applegate of Oregon.**

Oregon pioneers held a reunion at Lafayette, Oregon, and on June 5th the meeting was addressed by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. The title of the address was "Jesse Applegate: Pioneer, Statesman and Philosopher." The address is reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly.

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### **Professor Smith's New Book.**

Raymond V. Phelan, who writes the appreciative review of Professor J. Allen Smith's new book on "The Spirit of American Government," is an associate Professor of Economics and Sociology in Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. It is especially interesting to publish the views of an educator of the Middle West on a book produced by an educator of the Pacific Slope or the Far West.

### **Oldest Pioneer Is Active.**

The Pioneer Associations of both Oregon and Washington held their annual meetings on the same days this year—June 18 and 19. From all accounts, the most significant and interesting event of these two assemblies was the annual address of Rev. George F. Whitworth, President of the Washington Pioneer Association. Mr. Whitworth, now in his ninety-first year, is undoubtedly the oldest active member in either of these organizations. In prefacing his annual address on "The Retrospect of Half a Century" he personally visited stores, factories and offices to gather facts and statistics. The pioneers were justly proud of their aged president and his annual address. It is with pleasure that the Washington Historical Quarterly reproduces this address in this issue.

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### **Work of Curtis Honored.**

The remarkable work of E. S. Curtis, of Seattle, among the Indians of America continues to attract attention in high places. Under the caption of "The Vanishing Race" the New York Herald, in its issue of Sunday, June 16, gives three full pages of his wonderful Indian pictures and with the pictures is a most appreciative account of the thorough and artistic work of Mr. Curtis.

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### **History in the State University.**

Readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly will be pleased to learn that the Department of History is keeping pace with the remarkable growth of all other departments of the State University of Washington. Last year there were nearly four hundred students enrolled for history. The instruction was given by Professor Edmond S. Meany and Associate Professor George H. Alden, assisted by two advanced students. At the annual meeting of the Board of Regents two instructors were added to the department.

Louis J. Partow will begin his work on the European side of the subject during the coming university year. He took his undergraduate work at the University of Wisconsin and his graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Then he was recalled to his

Alma Mater and has been Instructor of History at the University of Wisconsin until called to this new field.

Edward McMahon is a graduate of the University of Washington. He did graduate work at the University of California and has been five years at the head of the History Department of the Seattle High School. Last year he obtained the Master of Arts degree for graduate work in the University of Wisconsin. He was then granted a Fellowship and will complete his work for the Doctorate in the same institution next year, after which he will return and take up his work in the University of Washington on the American side of the subject.

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#### Public Documents.

Charles W. Smith, Assistant Librarian of the University of Washington, has contributed a valuable paper to the Library Journal on "Public Documents as a Library Resource." Appreciation of the article was shown by the editors of that official organ of the American Library Association when they gave it first place in the issue for May, 1907. Mr. Smith is preparing an article along similar lines with special reference to history for this Quarterly, to appear in an early issue.

## REPRINT DEPARTMENT

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In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

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### THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

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By George Wilkes.

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[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

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#### Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

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The stream was found as Gray had described it to be, seven miles wide at its mouth, and decreasing to the extraordinary narrowness of a thousand yards, at a distance of twenty-five miles from the sea. This remarkable circumstance suggested an idea to Broughton and Vancouver when they laid their heads together afterward at San Francisco, which, if it do not give them credit for an extraordinary stretch of ingenuity, at least bestows upon them the most unquestionable title for meanness and dishonesty that could possibly be contrived. These gentlemen asserted that the **river** commenced at the distance of twenty-five miles from the sea; that Gray had not reached this point, but the part surveyed and explored by him was only an **inlet** or **sound**; consequently, the discovery of the river itself belonged of right to Lieutenant Broughton! Unfortunately, however, for these maritime lexicographers, the geographical definitions of these terms will not consent to turn themselves wrongside out, either for their purposes, or for the service of her most Christian Majesty, and "sounds" and "inlets" of the sea, despite the ungracious straining of Captains Vancouver



and Broughton, will still, as before, stand for independent arms, or friths, whose waters flowing up into the land are necessarily salt. The waters of the Columbia, on the contrary, are fresh in their whole volume to within ten miles of the ocean, at which point, by the way, Captain Gray filled the casks of his ship. The conduct of the British government in adopting such an absurd pretense as this, is sufficiently discreditable; but when contrasted with the assumption in favor of Meares, it receives an additional tinct of dishonor, and betrays a desperation of motive approaching to insanity. In a **Statement**\* presented by the British plenipotentiaries in 1826, to the American minister, embracing a number of propositions of about equal weight, it is alleged that **Meares** (!) is really entitled to the merit of the discovery of the Columbia, because "he actually entered its bay in 1788, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment, a name which it bears to this day." This reasoning on both sides of the question may be considered as the climax of argument, and the world may now rationally hope to see the long standing proposition, that black is white and white is black, satisfactorily established by the transcendent genius of British diplomacy. What signifies it if the doctrine in favor of Meares lets in the superior claim of Heceta, or if the rule of Vancouver wages destruction against Meares, the proposition is fortified at both ends, and those who like may fire away at either. Glorious, wise, powerful, magnanimous England! happy art thou in the possession of diplomatists, whose sagacity has discovered that a false position backed with power, is better than a true one supported only by the illusory strength of right, and who have the moral boldness to adopt a principle, maugre the whinings of all the theoretical ideologists who dream of honor, and who waste their lives in speculative rules of ethics!

From the time of the breaking out of the war between Spain and Great Britain in 1795, up to the year 1816, the monarchies of Europe were too much engaged in wrestling with the energies of revolutionary France, and in resisting the stupendous power of the Empire, to pay any attention to a region so distant and insignificant as the Northwest Coast of the Pacific; but the citizens of the United States, whose happy geographical position preserved them from being embroiled in the inhuman strife, availed themselves of the peculiar facilities thus offered to them, and carried on the trade exclusively between the Northwest coasts and the China Seas.

[Continued.]

\*See Appendix No. 6.

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